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Bolshevik Fire Against Opportunism!

THE end of capitalist stabilization resulting from the development of the economic crisis for the past three years, from the stormy growth of the revolutionary upsurge in the capitalist countries, and from the tremendous victories of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. which is proceeding toward the building of a classless Socialist society in its second Five-Year Plan—all this signifies a new and much higher stage of development of the revolutionary class struggle of the proletariat. This new stage impels social democracy to new "left" maneuvers and, to that degree, it places *in a new form* the problems of struggle between the Communist vanguard and the social democracy for the proletarian masses—a struggle which has been going on since the foundation of the Communist International. Whenever in the course of the thirteen years of the existence of the Comintern the crisis of social democracy sharpened, whenever the Communist Parties were confronted with the necessity of a tactical turn in accordance with the new stage of development of the international labor movement, then each time there formed within the Communist Party an agency of the bourgeoisie to place a brake on the developing, growing revolutionary struggles. Instead of moving forward, instead of a quick adaptation to new conditions, for the preparation of the working class for the coming decisive revolutionary class battles, instead of strengthening the *independent* role of the Communist Parties in the leadership of class battles and the *sharpening* of the struggle against the social democracy, the opportunist elements inside the Communist International in such periods of a turn, openly dragged the Communist Parties *backward, adapting themselves to social democracy*, to its "left" maneuvers, helping social democracy through its "left" and "most left" agency, to fool the working masses which were deserting social democracy, imbuing them with the idea that social democracy finds itself *on this side* of the barricades, as if there is no *basic* difference between Communism and social democracy, as if the leaders of "left" social democracy are developing towards Communism or hesitating between Communism and social democracy.

The meaning of the struggles with the Right and conciliators since the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International which outlined the perspective of the crisis of capitalist stabilization

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and the new revolutionary upsurge, consisted precisely in the necessity of realizing the mobilization of the masses for *struggle* for the preparation of the *counter-offensive and offensive* of the working class. However, what was the position of the Right and the conciliators on this perspective of the Sixth World Congress? At that very time the Rights and conciliators saw only the strengthening of capitalism, only the defeats of the working class and, reflecting the moods of the labor aristocracy, they drew from a number of previous proletarian defeats an opportunist lesson about the postponement for a long period to come of the revolutionary upsurge of the proletarian revolution.

Already at the Fifteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Comrade Stalin giving the analysis of the development of the contradictions of partial stabilization of capitalism, pointed out the fact that the attainment and surpassing of the prewar level in the production and trade of the capitalist countries does not signify that the staiblization of capitalism has become strong and stable. But on the contrary—

> ". . . from the very stabilization, from the fact that production is growing, from the fact that commerce is growing, from the fact that the technical progress and productive possibilities are increasing at a time when the world markets and the redivisions of these world markets, the boundaries of this world market and its spheres of influence among the various imperialist groups remain more or less stable—precisely from this there develops the most deep-going and sharpest crisis of world capitalism, pregnant with new wars and threatening the existence of any stabilization whatsoever."

Then the Right and the conciliators denied such a perspective. And the draft thesis of Comrade Bukharin and his concluding words at the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern contained in them the underestimation of the cracking up of capitalist stabilization and the unfolding of the inner contradictions of capitalism, the underestimation of the upsurge of the revolutionary class battles of the proletariat. In their attack on the line of the Communist International, the Rights and the conciliators with Comrades Humbert-Droz and Serra at the head (at the session of the Polit-Secretariat of the E.C.C.I. on October 4, 1928) based themselves on the memorandum of the German conciliators who spoke of "economic strengthening of the foundations of the present relative stabilization and therefore of the political power of the bourgeoisie".

Since then three years have passed of the destructive world economic crisis of capitalism. The social-democratic theories of "organized capitalism", of economic democracy, "the growth of the ma-

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terial welfare of the working class on the basis of capitalist rationalization" have all burst like soap bubbles. The social-democratic theory (repeated by the Rights and conciliators) about exceptionalism and other "capitalist harmony" have suffered bankruptcy. At the present time there are not any (and there could not be any) social-democratic theoreticians who would deny the existence of the crisis of capitalist stabilization. The historic role of social democracy and its opportunist agency in the ranks of the Communist Party in the cause of serving capitalism has now become *different*. The end of capitalist stabilization has conditioned the tremendous growth of the revolutionary upsurge of the working masses. But this growth develops unevenly. The development of the revolutionary class struggle of the proletariat rising to *a higher level*, impels the bourgeoisie to resort to more sharp forms of attack on the working class to resort to sharper methods of fascist terror. And the whole social fascist camp cries about the new period of the "ebb" of the labor movement. From the ranks of the Communist vanguard there again forms, as in all previous periods in the development of the crisis of social democracy, an auxiliary detachment for the social democracy, an auxiliary which "interprets" the uneven development of the revolutionary upsurge not from the viewpoint of the general development of the revolutionary movement *forward*, but from the viewpoint of the separate blows which the working class is compelled to receive from its class enemy in its general onward movement and transforming these factors into the main line of development.

Characteristic and not accidental is the fact that the clearest and most concrete bearers of this new outburst of opportunism and capitulation before social democracy are the same "commentators" on the decisions of the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International who on the eve of the third period perverted the line of the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International in a most crude opportunist manner and dragged the Communist vanguard into the swamp of social democracy.

On the eve of the Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. which has to establish the tactic of the Communist International under conditions of the end of capitalist stabilization and particularly has to establish the methods of struggle with "the left maneuvers" of social democracy which at present under the flag of lying speeches about "the great prespectives of Socialism" and "the preparation of the general strike" attempts to draw back the working masses from real concrete revolutionary struggles,—at this very moment under the leadership of a former conciliator, Humbert-Droz, resolutions are being composed in the Swiss Communist Party which bear testi-

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mony to the fact of the serious danger which opportunism presents, especially right opportunism, at a time of arriving at a new and higher level of revolutionary development.

> "It is necessary to admit," states the resolution composed by Humbert-Droz, "that during the past years of the crisis . . . the Communist Party did not make any decisive steps forward. On the contrary . . . this fact must be submitted to a strict Bolshevist self-criticism and the next Plenum of the E.C.C.I. must find ways of liquidating such condition."

And so the perpetual refrain of the opportunists, "catastrophe!" At the time when on the basis of the development of the crisis of capitalism and of the growth of the revolutionary upsurge, there grows almost everywhere the influence of the Communist vanguard, and in a number of countries there have grown powerful, mass Communist Parties which are the *only* organizers and leaders of the revolutionary upsurge of the masses. Comrade Humbert-Droz, instead of a real Bolshevist self-criticism of the causes for the insufficient utilization by the Communist vanguard of all of the objective possibilities furnished by the development of the world economic crisis and all contradictions of capitalism, cries about the "defeats" of the Comintern.

In practice this line of Humbert-Droz signifies:

(a) Instead of the emphasizing of the *sharpening* of all of the contradictions of imperialism as a result of all of the attempts to overcome these contradictions which have taken place up to now by means of "organized" capitalist agreements (which by no means signifies the theory of the automatic collapse of capitalism), that is, instead of the *perspective of a revolutionary way out of the crisis*, there is the emphasis on a different perspective: the *capitalist* way out of the crisis. "The war, the pauperization and enslavement of the oppressed peoples and the toiling classes,—such is the only way possible for the bourgeoisie to achieve the temporary overcoming of the present crisis," actually declares the resolution of Humbert-Droz.

(b) Instead of utilization of the economic struggle of the proletariat which ever more *intertwines* (*even in Switzerland* which is so far the least stricken by the crisis: to this there is an example of the Zurich barricade at the time of the recent strike of the machinists!) with the direct *political* struggle against the bourgeois state apparatus—there is the artificial *trade unionist* narrowing of the strike struggle of the proletariat by the purely *economic* frames, which is combined with the well-known theory of the Right about the *pure defense* of the working class. Precisely in this spirit a number of documents of the revolutionary trade union opposition were

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composed under the leadership of Comrade Humbert-Droz and Comrade Bodermann who at one time was a co-worker of Humbert-Droz in the ranks of the Right opposition.

(c) Instead of a struggle against *democratic illusions*—social-democratic refrains, the theme of which is that "in order to mobilize the working class and be in a position to lead it to victorious battles, it is necessary prior to that to conquer the majority of the working class and of its allies". From our Leninist point of view it is possible to conquer the majority of the working class only after we have mobilized it for the struggle. Even for an uprising, according to Lenin, it is sufficient to conquer the decisive strata of the proletariat in the decisive place. From the point of view of Humbert-Droz, it is only possible to mobilize the working class for the struggle having first won over the majority of the working class and the majority of its allies. This is exactly what Otto Bauer is preaching at present when he creates the "ideological base" for the greatest treachery to the working class, perpetrated on July 20 by the German social democracy which declared the call for a mass political strike against the fascist coup of Von Papen by the Communist Party of Germany as being a provocation. It was not permissible according to Bauer to strike, because it is necessary for the declaration of a political strike to have the majority of the working class and of the entire nation, and such a majority is not yet at hand as was shown by the presidential and Prussian parliamentary elections. This is exactly what the Russian Mensheviks said against the October Revolution and to which Lenin answered more than once prior to, as well as after, the October Revolution (articles—*The Bolsheviks Must Take Power*, *About the Elections to the Constituent Assembly* and others), that for the decisive battle for power it may be even sufficient when a majority of the most important detachments of the proletariat and in the decisive centers of the country, are secured.

Lenin wrote on the eve of October:

> "The Bolsheviks can and should take state power in their hands, since the active majority of the revolutionary elements in the nation in both capitals (Petrograd and Moscow) is sufficient to attract the masses to break the resistance of the enemy and annihilate him, to win power and hold it. The majority of the Soviets in the large cities is the fruit of the development of the people on our side."

(d) Instead of *strengthening* the struggle against social democracy, to expose the "left" and "most left" social democracy in its true treacherous character, before the broadest sections of the working masses, there is a "trustful" attitude to these maneuvers

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and an actual *capitulation* before social democracy. According to Humbert-Droz, the Geneva social fascist Nicol is on the extreme "left" flank of social democracy who has on a number of most important international questions and in the first place on the question of the struggle against imperialist war "the same identical aims as Communism". According to Humbert-Droz, the "extreme left" Geneva social democrat Nicol "is developing towards Communism" and his entire "mistake" consists of the fact that he "insufficiently exposes the Right leaders of social democracy and does not expel from the reformist unions the reformist trade union bureaucrats". Therefore we find in the resolution of Comrade Humbert-Droz in its general head on social democracy silence on the historic mission of "left social democracy" as safety-valves for the drawing back of the workers from Communist influence. Therefore we find a capitulatory position on the tactic of the united front: "a bloc" with "the extreme left" social democrat Nicol, instead of a *strengthening of the campaign of exposure* against him in the ranks of the revolutionary-inclined *Geneva* social-democratic workers who still have confidence in him. Finally we therefore also find a proposal, marvelous for a Communist, to organize Communist fractions *inside* "extreme left Geneva Social Democratic Party of Nicol's"; Comrade Humbert-Droz even refers to the 21 Conditions of Admission to the Comintern! Differentiation between the various wings in the social-fascist camp is certainly necessary. But this should only be a differentiation in the method of struggle in exposing the various social-democratic groups corresponding to the methods of their deception of the working class.

(e) Instead of a decisive, merciless exposure of the Right renegade, Bringholz, who by deception captured the Schafhausen Party organization and who for a period of two years has carried on an undermining provocatory activity against the Communist Party of Switzerland, the "confiding" attitude to the rumors spread by this social-fascist agent about his desire to return to the ranks of the Communist Party and the serious raising of the question before the Communist International about "the condition of his reacceptance" into the Party (would he be accepted if he would dissovle his organization?), just exactly as the German conciliators in 1928, 1929, demanded "the concentration of all Communist forces" including the renegades Brandler and Thalheimer. You have forgotten the 21 Conditions of Admission to the Comintern, Comrade Humbert-Droz.

(f) Instead of the strengthening of the *leading* role of the Communist Party and the *trade unions* there is the raising of the question of the relationship between the Party and the union. According to

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Humbert-Droz the decision of the Party pertaining to the tactic of the revolutionary trade union organization cannot be carried through in life and should therefore be taken up again for "review". Even if this decision is correct—for the sake of preciseness as explained in the resolution of Comrade Humbert-Droz—if the Communists working in the trade union organizations are against such a decision, here we have a direct denial of the role of the Communist fractions in the trade unions and other mass organizations of the working class. You have forgotten the 21 Conditions of Admission to the Comintern, Comrade Humbert-Droz.

Now we see why it was necessary for Comrade Humbert-Droz to come forward with the slanderous assertions that "in the period of the last crisis years the Communist Parties did not make any steps forward, *on the contrary* . . . ." This was necessary for him in order to call for a retreat before difficulties and for an adaptation to social democracy. Under the fire of the criticism of the E.C.C.I. Comrade Humbert-Droz recognized his resolution as being opportunist. This recognition he must confirm by deeds. But this does not relieve us of the responsibility to submit this resolution to public criticism because we are confronted here with a new *international platform* of the Right which Comrade Humbert-Droz submitted to the coming Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. because we deal here with an *international platform* which is a direct continuation of that struggle against the general line of the Communist International which the Rights and conciliators carried on at the time of the turn from the second period to the third period in 1928-29. At the present time we deal here with a new international right opportunist platform at a period of a new political turn of the Communist vanguard. The Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. must call upon all the sections of the Communist International to exercise greatest watchfulness in the preparation of the masses for decisive revolutionary struggles of the masses and for a merciless struggle against the reviving right opportunism, a struggle against this main danger as well as against its feeding "left" sectarianism which leads to passivity, to a refusal to participate in revolutionary struggle, to capitulation before social democracy.

Raise the Bolshevik banner of struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat! Greater Bolshevik fire against opportunism!

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The Increasing Radicalization of the Masses and the Election Issues

By C. A. HATHAWAY

OUR election campaign up until the present time is characterized by very serious shortcomings. These shortcomings are not merely technical shortcomings, but very serious political shortcomings which have to be quickly overcome if the Party is to gain real results in the election campaign.

There have been a few things in connection with the election campaign that can be termed a success. In the first place there are the tours of Foster and Ford. If we compare these tours with previous tours by the Party, we have reached a greater number of workers than ever in the past.

Comrade Foster reports that he has spoken at 66 meetings with an attendance approximately of 140 thousand. This compares with 48 thousand people and 49 meetings four years ago. Already he has reached many times more workers than in 1928.

Comrade Ford, who is lesser known than Comrade Foster and is making a national tour for the first time, has spoken to approximately 60 thousand workers throughout the country. This is an indication that the Party has reached a larger number of workers in this campaign than in previous campaigns carried on.

Even these tours, however, suffered from a serious lack of preparatory work. The mood of the masses is such that if the Party had worked as it should have worked, if it had really prepared these tours, we would have had a still larger attendance at these meetings.

MASS WORK AND THE ELECTIONS

The National Nominating Convention was also a success in the election work of the Party. We were able to bring 1,000 delegates to Chicago, and carry through a very enthusiastic convention composed to a very great extent of new workers never reached before.

There are some other achievements that can be pointed out, as for example the activities in getting the Party on the ballot—we are al-

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ready on the ballot in 38 states, 5 more than in 1928—the increase in literature sales as compared with previous campaigns, etc., but I will not go into these now.

There is one thing that must now be emphasized in the election campaign, namely, *that the campaign is characterized by the failure to seriously develop mass political work and to draw large numbers of non-Party workers into the campaign.*

Since the Chicago convention there has been no sustained attention given to the election campaign. In most districts, the policy of the District Secretariat was to turn the election campaign over to a campaign manager, and to make it a sort of departmental activity. The campaign was not made a part of the general work of the Party. All other activities were not used to add strength to the election campaign.

In all cases the Party was not really mobilized to carry through a real mass campaign in preparations for the various state conventions. These state conventions, in the main, were merely the fulfillment of the formal requirements necessary to place the Party on the ballot. They were not conceived as a renewed effort to reach masses of workers, but merely as formal things, that had to be carried through in accordance with the election laws.

Furthermore, there have been very few local struggles developed, and what local struggles have been carried on have not been linked up with the election campaign. The united front tactic has not been applied in connection with the election campaign. The election campaign has been almost purely agitational, has been centered to a very great extent around the tours of Foster and Ford and of a few district comrades.

WEAKNESSES TO BE CORRECTED NOW

As yet there has been no real arousing of the Party for the election drive, no real realization of what this drive means at this time to the Party. There has been practically no recruiting work in connection with the election campaign. The Political Bureau set as its goal before the National Nominating Convention the task of recruiting 10,000 new members for the Party, and 25,000 subscribers for the *Daily Worker*, and neither of these tasks has been seriously undertaken. Finally, many districts have shown the greatest apathy in the job of placing the Party on the ballot. We must therefore characterize the work of the election campaign as *alarmingly weak*, as a task that must receive the center of attention of the entire party if it is to be corrected.

One thing must be pointed out. What we say now about the election campaign is not yet a post mortem examination. In con-

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nection with many of the activities, we have the examination only after the funeral.

Now the reasons for this situation. In my opinion it is due to the fact that there is still a very serious underestimation of parliamentary activities; many comrades still carry over quite strongly many anti-parliamentary tendencies. The comrades do not see the possibilities of drawing masses of workers into struggle as a result of the election campaign.

One of the weaknesses in the center was the insufficient effort to politically arouse the Party to its importance before starting the campaign. All comrades must realize that the present very widespread radicalization is taking place among not only the workers, bue among new strata of the population, giving us greater possibilities for the election campaign than at any time in the past. We have the involving of new masses, as shown in the Bonus March, in the farmers' movement in the West, in the rise of political activity among the Negroes, etc.—the activization of new elements that up till now have not participated in the mass struggles taking place as a result of the crisis. Today thousands of workers, farmers, petty bourgeoisie, Negroes, office workers, etc., are showing very clearly a trend towards the left and can be reached by us now with a correct policy and energetic mass work.

Furthermore, it can be seen very clearly, also from these same struggles, from the struggles in the coal fields, etc., that a higher form of struggle is developing in the United States—forms that involve great masses of the people, resulting in the sharpening of the conflict between the masses involved and the government, etc. This is shown by the sharp repressive measures by the government and the militant resistance of the masses in the whole string of cities, Detroit, St. Louis, Washington, in the Bonus March, Illinois coal fields, amongst the farmers, etc.

This movement now developing is so far chiefly of a spontaneous character, with our Party still playing too small a role in the movement and with a very great increase in the reformist activities, with the Socialists and various other reformist groups coming forward much more actively than has been the case in the past. It is precisely this rise in the mass movement that emphasizes more sharply than ever before the isolation of our Party from the basic masses of the workers. The fact that we could not quickly enter into these movements, that we did not have contact with them in most cases until after they had broken out, is an indication of this isolation.

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And in the election campaign, all of the shortcomings of the Party, this separation of the Party from the masses, become more sharp than in any other activity. The campaign is a national campaign which involves all sections of the country simultaneously. It is dependent upon the extent to which the roots of the Party are sunk among the workers. The weakness of the campaign is the narrow base of the Party. The election campaign brings out, in an exaggerated form, the isolation of the Party from the masses.

THE POLICY OF THE BOURGEOISIE AND THE ELECTION ISSUES

In estimating the election campaign, it is also necessary to look for a moment at the policy of the bourgeoisie in the present period. First, very clearly, the big bourgeoisie in America are determined not to make any concessions to the masses of workers. They are determined to force through their entire program for the capitalist way out of the crisis at the expense of the masses. This includes the wage-cutting drive against the workers, the throwing of more workers out of jobs, the cutting of relief, the increase in part-time work with the approval of the A. F. of L., as shown today, the increase of their taxation policy, sales tax, etc. It is interesting to note that only recently figures were given out to the effect that even though the country were to return to the production levels of 1929, that only 47 per cent of the workers who are now unemployed would be given jobs. This shows the extent of the speed-up drive. At the same time, evictions, foreclosures, etc., directed against the masses are increasing.

This is one side of the policy of the bourgeoisie. On the other hand, they are going forward with their policy, more actively than ever, of giving direct aid to the biggest capitalists, to the bankers, railroads, etc.

And with this, of course, goes a great increase in terror against the masses to force through their policy, to break the resistance of the masses, to prepare for war, etc.

WIDER SECTIONS OF THE POPULATION TO BE REACHED

All of this provides us with the basis for the widest election activities, activities that will reach a wider strata of the population than we could have possibly reached at any previous time. We must realize that the question of getting a hold on these masses today becomes a decisive task of the Party. The strong sectarian tendencies, already so strongly emphasized at the Fourteenth Plenum, are still the greatest obstacle and with this goes hand in hand the right danger in the Party. And this right danger has greatly increased in the past period, as shown by the great lagging behind of the Party,

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precisely because of our failure to wage war against and overcome our sectarianism.

Furthermore, it is necessary for the Party, much more thoroughly than in the past, to carry on a real exposure of the capitalist parties and, as a result of taking up of the local struggles of the workers, as a result of the exposures of the capitalist parties, to draw the workers under our influence.

The Republican administration comes forward at the present time with a program that still confuses large numbers of workers, despite the fact that the Hoover regime has been discredited amongst the masses. Hoover comes forward with the claim that the crisis is not of American origin, that it was born outside of the United States and was transplanted here. Hoover also attempts to show that his whole policy has been one of alleviating the crisis, that it would have been many times worse if he had not been in power, and that it was just about over in 1930, when a new attack came from foreign sources. In the last year, so he claims, he has been trying for all he is worth to get us back on "safe ground." And his whole policy, particularly the emphasis that is being placed now on "prosperity," of the "return of prosperity" at the present time, is undoubtedly confusing many workers. We have to bear in mind that to us Hoover appears in his true colors, but to masses of workers who have less understanding of politics, Hoover's position is confusing.

In this connection we cannot forget the fact that in England the masses of workers in the last elections were ready to vote for the Tories because they saw in the Tories a way out of the crisis. In Germany we also saw tens of thousands of workers voting for the reactionary parties. And Hoover at present, here, by acknowledging on one hand the seriousness of the situation and, on the other hand, emphasizing his "constructive program" and his way out, will undoubtedly have an influence on a section of the working class population.

But particularly we have to see the influence that is exerted by Roosevelt and the Democrats. If you read the speech made by Roosevelt in Columbus, if you read the speech he made recently in Jersey City, if you read his radio speech from Albany, you will find that Roosevelt can very cleverly expose the position of Hoover, make it appear as though he is fundamentally opposed to the line of Hoover and that if he were in power a different policy would have been followed with regard to the crisis, with regard to the unemployed masses, etc.

But a more thorough examination of his program, on the contrary, shows that there is no fundamental difference between the Republicans and Democrats. It is necessary for us to realize

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though that we have to react to these things to a much greater extent than has been the case in the past and bring this fact convincingly to the masses who are now misled by Roosevelt's demagogy.

INCREASED ACTIVITY OF THE SOCIAL FASCISTS

The Socialists have not received the attention that they must receive. It is true that since the Fourteenth Plenum we have fought against the Socialists to a greater extent than has been the case in the past, but we have conducted as yet *no political fight* against the Socialist Party. The fight against the Socialist Party so far has been chiefly that of calling them "the third party of capitalism," of calling them "traitors," etc., without a really serious examination of their position. But the fact is that the Socialists are becoming much more active than they have ever been before. They look upon this campaign as an opportunity for them in exactly the same way that we look upon the campaign as an opportunity for us. And they are very seriously taking advantage of the campaign. Norman Thomas, in reporting on his tour up until now, says, "This year is a year of Socialist opportunity. Socialist interest and even Socialist locals are springing up in unexpected places in gratifying fashion. In my own experience we can get twice the audiences with half the difficulty of any previous year since the war. Discontent is universal!"

But it is significant to bear in mind not only the increased activity as compared with previous years. We all remember the fact that the Socialists two years ago were not talking about the class struggle at all—even dropped the class struggle from their platform because they thought that this was too radical to reach the American workers. But now, on the contrary, the Socialist Party is attempting to appear more radical before the workers, is stressing "Socialism" much more than has been the case in the past. I had the opportunity of reading a letter that was sent by Mayor Hoan, of Milwaukee, to Norman Thomas, in which he gave Norman Thomas advice on how to conduct the campaign. In his letter he stresses the necessity of emphasizing that the Socialists have a "plan," of emphasizing the necessity of "planned economy," etc., very obviously utilizing the popularity that planned economy in the Soviet Union has gained. And in the *American Socialist Quarterly*, Norman Thomas himself says, "The emphasis of all of our workers in this campaign must be on the constructive aspects of Socialism and not on the inevitable doom of capitalism. It is what Socialism can do and capitalism cannot do that we must emphasize."

In all their activities now the Socialists are putting "Socialism" more to the forefront than has ever been the case in the past. The case of the *American Freeman*, their copying of Foster's speech

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is well known. Maurer, when he spoke in Detroit, gave an interview to the capitalist press. This interview centered chiefly around the question of the differences between the Socialists and the Communists. There Mauer made it very emphatic that there was "no difference" between the Socialists and Communists, that both wanted Socialism, except, of course, that the Socialists did not agree with the "crazy methods" of the Communists. It was only a question of "method" that distinguished the Socialists from the Communists and, of course, the Socialist method was correct, according to Maurer.

This, of course, is being put forward in connection with their immediate demands, but all of their immediate demands are being put forward, not in the old sense, but in relation to their agitation for "Socialism."

Another significant fact is that everywhere the Socialists are receiving the widest publicity, are receiving the widest opportunity for a hearing. Norman Thomas reports that in practically every city he is getting on the radio and certainly in every city where either he or Maurer speak they are getting interviews with the capitalist press. Their position is being played up, and invariably in these interviews the differences between the Socialists and Communists, as they put the question, are being emphasized.

It is very clear from all of this, as we correctly stated in our Fourteenth Plenum resolution, that the Republicans, Democrats and Socialists are carefully dividing the roles among themselves—the party in power, comes out most boldly in defense of the capitalist way out of the crisis, in defense of the war preparations, etc.; the Democrats, in their efforts to hold the masses within the two party system, are stressing their opposition to Hoover, and a number of demands that appear to be in the interests of the masses; the Socialist Party, together with other of the parties that have sprung up, like the Cox movement, the Liberty Party, the Farmer Labor Party, etc., is trying to pick up and absorb all of the discontented elements who are leaving the two parties.

In connection with this it is necessary to mention that the A. F. of L. leaders, the Negro reformists, etc., are all working overtime to prevent the masses of workers from coming to us. One can particularly see this with regard to the Negro reformists, because they are newer in the field.

In the past year, particularly since the Party began to gain success among broad masses of the Negroes, the Negro reformists in every city of the country have undertaken a fight against us, and in many cases a very clever fight.

In Harlem, this has even taken the form of what might be termed

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a sort of "Black Communism." Some of these Negro reformists there are making speeches that are very similar to the speeches made by our comrades, except that they emphasize that they cannot trust the whites, that if you scratch a white Communist, you have just an ordinary white, that the black must fight on this line alone.

INCREASED RADICALIZATION OF THE MASSES

From all of this we can see that, simultaneously with the increase in the radicalization of the workers, which gives us an increased opportunity for successful work not only in the election campaign, but in all of the mass activities of the Party, we have a great increase in the demagogy on the part of all the bourgeois parties, particularly the Socialist, and increased terror against the workers, in an effort to break up the rising working-class movement.

This requires from the Party the carrying through of the very serious turn to mass work that was demanded by the Fourteenth Plenum. We have to do away very decisively with all of the loose generalities that have characterized our work. We have to get down to bedrock in our fight against the Socialists and against the bourgeois demagogs. We are never going to be able to break the masses away from their influence if we continue to carry on our activity on the basis of just phrases, etc.

At the present time the masses are distinctly turning away from Hoover. This is shown, not only by the sentiment at workers' meetings, but it was also shown by such events as the American Legion Convention. All of this shows the wide anti-Hoover drift that is taking place throughout the country. But at the same time it is evident that the masses of the workers will not turn to us unless we overcome the weaknesses in our mass work.

In the Fourteenth Plenum resolution it was stated:

> "*The Communist Party must concretely unmask the efforts of the bourgeoisie to find a capitalist way out of the crisis* (*their present promise of complete employment, a new period of prosperity, etc., if wage cuts are carried out, if the banks are saved, if higher tariffs are introduced, if industry is further trustified, if the imperialist position for American capitalism is strengthened, their promises with regard to the abandonment of graft and corruption in American politics, etc.*) The revolutionary way out of the crisis must be widely popularized, including a systematic and thorough exposure of the mere phrases about "Socialism" used by the Socialists."

THE DEVELOPMENT OF LOCAL STRUGGLES AND THE EXPOSURE OF LOCAL DEMAGOGS

It must be stated that this directive was not seriously carried out. *It has not been carried out in any phase of the activity of the Party.*

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As stated before, we have confined ourselves to condemnation, we have confined ourselves to generalities, but we have not taken up concretely the task required of us by the Comintern in this document, and certainly the task required of us by the actual situation that we are confronted with here. And when we state this, it applies to each of the parties, to the Cox movement, to the Socialist movement, to the Republicans and Democrats. It applies in all sections of the Party, from the center down to the units, the press, the leaflets, the speakers of the Party, etc. And just as it applies nationally to these national movements, so also it applies in the various localities. We have in no case, in no district, a serious political fight against the local bourgeois demagogs. In Detroit, in Pittsburgh, in all of these places, the fight against Murphy, against Cox has been extremely weak. The comrades there have resorted to ordinary phrase-mongoring and have not taken up a serious, continuous political exposure and political fight against these people.

In Detroit, perhaps, the fight against Murphy has been better conducted than has been the case in most cities. But even there the fight that has taken place has been the organization of local demonstrations, the carrying on of struggle at the City Hall, but there has not been combined with this a real exposure of Murphy's political position. *The development of local struggle and the political exposure of these people must go hand in hand.*

In connection with the fight against the local politicians, there have been a number of serious opportunist mistakes made. I refer to Chicago. The comrades on the north side of Chicago organized an unemployed demonstration. They organized this demonstration before the home of an alderman. They sent a committee into the alderman's house. This committee was composed of three Party members and two non-Party members. They presented their demands to the alderman. He kept them in the house for a considerable period, and together with him were several policemen. The crowd outside was very militant and restless. The police tried to disperse them and they refused to leave. The alderman requested our comrades to go out and quiet the crowd. And I think it was our Communist candidate that went out and told the crowd that they were not being detained, that everything was alright inside. Immediately the police made an attack on the demonstration, arresting some comrades. Our comrades realized their mistake, immediately demanded the release of the comrades arrested. The alderman said he would release the comrades arrested if our comrades would go out and tell the crowd to go away. The alderman stressed the fact that the streets were not the place to make a report, proposed that they go to a hall. Our comrades said they had no money for

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hall rent. He told them he would pay the rent and gave them $5. Our comrades came out, told the workers they would not make the report there and called upon them to march to a hall a couple of blocks away, with the result that out of 1200 workers present, 300 went to the meeting and these 300 were mostly our people, which was lucky for us, since the alderman went over to the hall and paid the rent.

THE FIGHT AGAINST OPPORTUNISM

Such opportunism as this shows the lack of experience of our comrades in carrying on such activities. They play into the hands of these local politicians. Certainly in this case the beneficiary was not our Party, but rather the alderman. With such mistakes as that being made in such an important district of the Party as Chicago, where we have a comparatively strong leadership, then in some of the more backward districts we can see the opportunist dangers that confront us. It is necessary to guard against such tendencies. Comrades must realize the necessity of carrying on a much sharper political fight in connection with our demonstrations and mass activity so that the workers fully understand the political significance of the actions carried on.

As to the political work of the Party generally. In addition to the weakness of our fight against the bourgeois demagogs, against the reformists, etc., it is necessary to take up and explain clearly the issues of "nationalization," the question of "gradualism" as put forward by the Socialists, the question of mass activity versus purely parliamentary activity, etc. All of these issues now have to be explained to a greater extent than in the past.

In addition to this, it is necessary now for our comrades to clearly put forward *our own position* in the campaign. We have a great confusion in the development of our position before the workers. In the platforms that were drawn up in many of the districts, most likely by the leading comrades, we had in most cases a failure to put forward the six national demands and the local demands of the Party in the proper relation to the revolutionary way out of the crisis. The tendency was to put forward the six demands in a purely reformist manner and to fail completely to show that the struggle for these demands was a struggle to mobilize the masses for a revolutionary way out of the crisis. Another mistake that is being made in all of the districts is the question of the relation between the national demands and the local demands. In the first part of the campaign there was a tendency on the part of some of the districts to completely disregard the six national demands, to change these, to play with them in the same frivolous manner that they had done in the past with other demands. This was corrected. Now we have

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quite the contrary tendency in the Party. We have a tendency to use *only* the six demands put out by the Central Committee and a complete failure to take up local demands, close to the life of the workers, demands that the workers will rally around and fight for in the localities. Such demands that arise from the actual struggle of the masses for relief are neglected everywhere by the Party.

MASS ACTIVITIES AND THE REVOLUTIONARY WAY OUT OF CRISIS

With regard to the whole question of the manner in which the Party puts forward the revolutionary way out of the crisis, I think that it is necessary to clarify the Party to a considerable extent. The comrades now put forward this question in such a way as to destroy its effectiveness, particularly for a struggle against the social reformists. The revolutionary way out of the crisis is put forward as a phrase in the speeches of comrades. The whole position of the Party, the development of mass activity by the Party, the emphasis that the Party places on mass action as a means of developing the revolutionary struggles of the workers, of developing strikes, demonstrations, mass political strikes, etc., up to the struggle for power—only through this method of putting the question, of placing the emphasis on mass actions can the workers understand the position of the Party. Very frequently, on the contrary, our comrades in their speeches do not develop at all this central aim of our Party in the election campaign. They pick up one of the demands of the Party and put this forward as though the sole aim of the Communist Party was to fight for unemployment insurance or some other immediate demand. I think it is necessary for the leading comrades to particularly watch in the districts for the correction of our speakers in this respect, and also to correct the leaflets and other agitational material that is put out. In the center, in the Party press, in *The Communist*, etc., this also must be given much more attention, particularly in relation to the struggle against the concrete proposals of the bourgeois parties.

It is also necessary to emphasize the necessity of dealing in our agitation and propaganda much more fully with the question of the "lesser evil" as it applies to the actual situation we are confronted with in the United States. Today we have literally hundreds of workers—and I have spoken to many of them—that put forward the position like this: "Well, we agree with you fellows, but you have no chance at all to be elected this year and therefore we are going to vote for the best man; that is, for Roosevelt." And there is no doubt but what the emphasis that is placed on individuals in American politics makes the "lesser evil" a particularly great danger for the Party, and at the same time gives it peculiar form.

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We should also emphasize, that while the Party of course carries on the fight against the capitalist class as a whole, it is necessary for the comrades to realize that in this election campaign we have to concentrate on the Democrats who are using demagogy most extensively in the fight against the Republicans, and with considerable success, among the masses, and we have to concentrate, *particularly on the Socialists*, who are the last barrier in preventing the masses who have already broken away from both bourgeois parties from coming to us.

In Detroit and in a considerable number of cities the Socialist Labor Party has also become active. The comrades in a number of places where I have been recently, have reported that they are challenging our comrades to debate and are distributing leaflets at our meetings.

Of course in every locality, for example in Pittsburgh, we have to give particular attention to other such movements—in Pittsburgh, to the Cox movement. In the western states the comrades have to give more attention to the Liberty Party, to the Farmer Labor Party, etc., because these movements also play a role in preventing the workers from coming to us.

While I emphasized until now the necessity of strengthening to a great extent the political exposure of our enemies and the popularizing of our own position, at the same time we must recognize that political exposure alone is insufficient.

EMPHASIS ON DEVELOPMENT OF LOCAL STRUGGLES

Together with this strengthening of our politics must go everywhere a serious effort to develop local struggles. We must state that our weaknesses in carrying through local struggles is on an equal plane with the political weaknesses of the Party in the election campaign.

We can state that in the entire period since the Chicago convention, with the exception of a few cities, no basic signs of local struggles are evident. Even where such local economic struggles have been conducted, where such mass activities have been carried on, we have not linked them up with the election campaign of the Party.

It is necessary to place the greatest emphasis on the necessity of taking up systematically the problems of the workers, not merely general problems, but the smallest and most intimate problems of the workers in the neighborhoods, the unemployed workers, the workers in the factories, the Negro masses, etc. We must give the greatest attention to each category of workers in an effort to

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find out what their grievances are, discussing these grievances with them, participating with them in formulating their demands, working out with them methods of carrying on the local struggles, developing demonstrations, strikes and other activities in accordance with the local situation. Such activities as relief for hungry families, taking them to the city relief agencies, following these cases persistently—this is the way to win the confidence and support of the workers. Such activities must be given greater attention and *must be the main basis for the election campaign.* The extent to which the Party involves the workers in such struggles will mainly determine our election success, assuming, of course, the correction of the political weaknesses already noted. We must win the confidence of these workers and draw them into the Party, win their vote on November 8 and make them followers of the Party after the election is over.

We also have to emphasize particularly that in those struggles that have taken place, there has been a failure everywhere to politicalize the struggles, to bring forward the election campaign in connection with the struggles carried on. For example, in Chicago, what steps have been taken to bring the election campaign into the struggle of the miners in Illinois? On the basis of the information we have in the center, very little has been done. The same is true in the Pittsburgh district with regard to the coal struggles going on there. We have many examples to show that up until now this kind of activity has not been linked up with the election campaign.

A case in point was the Illinois Steel Hunger March. They put up their demand for relief, but the Party candidates did not appear; they did not have election literature or posters; they did not bring the Party forward; they did not expose the capitalist demagogs. As a result, of course these workers were not helped to understand the role of the capitalist parties and of our Party as the fighter for their interests.

We may mention another case — the mass funeral in Detroit — where there was not a single banner for our candidates nor a single appeal for mass support for our Party in the election. The same holds true of each of the other districts. In some cases, these local struggles have not been developed; in other cases the election campaign has not been brought forward in connection with them.

In other cases we have had in the course of the election campaign the most mechanical linking up of the campaign with mass activities. This has been particularly true with regards to the mass organizations. We have cases where our comrades go into unemployed councils and give orders to the councils like they would to a Party

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nucleus, demanding that they go out and collect signatures, etc. This form of activity, of course, must be stopped in every district. When you go to unemployed councils and tell them that they have to support the Communist Party, that they have to carry on our election activities, there is the danger of not geting mass support for the campaign. Workers cannot be ordered about in that manner. They must be convinced!

AGAINST FORMALISM

A second tendency that shows itself in all districts is the practice of going to these bodies and there securing a formal endorsement of the Party platform, of the Party candidates and then assuming that our work has been done.

The comrades in the trade unions have carried on certain election activities; they have carried articles in the press; they have adopted resolutions; the national unions have endorsed our candidates. But there is not yet a systematic political work among the masses in the organizations to convince them of the correctness of our demands and the necessity of supporting our candidates, etc. All the work has been done from the top, from the offices, by the leaders. We do not develop this real activity from below, to win the masses of workers in these activities, and it is this that has to be done.

I stated that the comrades in a number of places have not brought the Party into local struggles. This, comrades, can very easily be done. If you take, for example, such situations as that in Southern Illinois, it is quite easy for the Party organization there to bring the Party forward in a very prominent position in the campaign without in any way narrowing down the activities of our comrades in the strike there, or other comrades of mass organizations working in the field. I think that with all this terror that is going on against the miners, with the sharpest kind of attacks against them, that it is possible for the Party, *as a Party*, to come forward with an appeal to all workers' organizations, to all workers, etc., to take up the defense of these workers and actually build a mass movement for defense of these miners against the terror that is taking place. Furthermore, I think that it is possible for the comrades in such a situation as this to send our leading candidates there to aid in mobilizing relief for the miners, to play a leading role in mobilizing support for the strike, to there become the political initiators of united front action, even though the actual call for such united front action is issued by the unemployed council, by the local unions, or what not. But the Party, as a Party, with its candidates, its leaflets, its literature, etc., can effectively come forward in such struggles as this, weak as we are, but in such a way as to convince

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the workers that the Party is really coming forward fighting for their interests.

IMPORTANCE OF UNITED FRONT ACTIVITIES IN THE ELECTIONS

As to the question of the united front and the necessity of developing broader united front activities in connection with the election campaign, we have to state that up until now the united front activities have been carried out on entirely too formal a basis. The preparations for the national nominating convention, the preparations for the district conventions showed, in many cases, the bringing together of just the organizations that we have reached time and time again, and with very few elements in addition to this. Secondly, when these conferences were held, they ended with the holding of the conference. If we look at all the districts, without exception, we have not any real united front working as a result of the district conferences, and the district conventions that were held during the early stage of the campaign. In each case it was just a formal thing that was liquidated as soon as it was held.

There is also a tendency in all districts to look upon united front activity as merely meaning that we try to set up "Vote Communist" clubs. When you speak of united front, the comrades answer by stating, "We are trying to organize 'Vote Communist' clubs in the neighborhoods." And even these clubs, in the main, are still confined to workers close to the Party. We even go into mass organizations that already are completely under our influence, and through which we could directly carry on activity and there organize a "Vote Communist" club. I know of such cases in Detroit, etc., where "Vote Communist" clubs are organized inside the Finnish Federation and other such bodies as this.

While certainly we must continue to organize "Vote Communist" clubs and to penetrate our existing mass organizations on a much broader basis than up until now, these forms cannot be considered as, in any sense, the united front forms of the election campaign. The united front in the election campaign must chiefly be to reach *new elements* entirely who have never, up until now, been reached by the Party. We must reach elements that are now foreign to us.

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The Warren Steel Strike

By JACK STACHEL

THE strike of the steel workers in the Trumbull mill of the Republic Steel in Warren is of outstanding significance, although it lasted but a little over a day and involved comparatively a small number of workers. Aside from many other features, there are two that are of outstanding importance in this strike. First, this strike shows unmistakably the great depth of the radicalization of the masses reaching new strata of workers and of the native workers especially. Secondly, it proves that the native-born workers are ready to accept the leadership of the Party and the revolutionary trade union movement.

CONDITIONS OF TRUMBULL WORKERS

The Trumbull mill employs some 5,500 workers on what is perhaps one of the most perfected stagger plans in the country. Each of the men receive from 3 to 10 days per month work. A day's work under the "double crew" system practiced in this mill means that the worker spends 6 hours in the factory and gets paid for 3 hours. A worker who received even 10 days a month while spending 60 hours in the factory received only 30 hours pay. In order to get an idea of the lowering of the living standards of the steel workers in this plant (and of course this, in the main, applies throughout the steel industry) let us consider the wages of the most highly skilled, the rollers and heaters. Before the crisis these men made from $150 to $200 a pay (every two weeks). At present the highest wage made by any of these men is $36 a pay—that is, in two weeks. The great mass of the workers in the plant average from $4 to $7 per week. Many of the workers who are classified among the "employed" must also receive relief from the city in order to get the barest existence.

THE AMALGAMATED ASSOCIATION AND THE SLIDING SCALE AGREEMENT

This mill is one of the steel mills which has an agreement with the Amalgamated Association of Steel, Tin and Iron Workers Union (A. F. of L. union), which agreement takes into account only the skilled workers. The A. A. had less than 100 members in this mill before the strike, a large number having dropped out and a consider-

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able number, including the most militant leaders against the bureaucracy, having joined the Steel and Metal Workers Industrial Union. The agreement includes the so-called sliding scale, through which adjustments in wages are made every 60 days, depending upon the market price of the products. Of course in the last years the scale was sliding all in one direction—downwards—bringing wage cut after wage cut to the workers.

A PARTY NUCLEUS EARNS ITS SALT

Why did the strike take place in this mill of all the steel mills? Is it only because of the objective conditions? There are many other steel mills where the objective conditions are just as favorable and even more favorable for the development of the struggle. For some time there existed in this plant a small nucleus of the Party consisting mostly of Finnish comrades. In time these comrades succeeded in building up a shop branch of the Metal Workers Industrial League of some good proportions—somewhere in the neighborhood of 100 workers. From the point of view of numbers, this was the largest of any shop branch of any of the revolutionary unions anywhere in the country. But the Party nucleus and the union branch were unable to go forward. The comrades felt that they had to make contact with and bring in some of the native workers into the work and the organization in order to develop the struggle. For nearly two years things remained almost stagnant. There grew up a feeling in the ranks of the Party and in the union that our comrades there were passive and we had a "white elephant" on our hands. But, of course, this view was completely wrong. The fault lay not with our comrades in Warren, who in the main did the best they could, but with the leading committees of the Party and the union. We did not study the problems in the shops, did not take up with the Finnish comrades the problems they raised, the obstacles they faced, and help them to overcome them. We usually were given to making much criticism—negative criticism—and gave very little assistance. But in due time, in spite of all this, our Finnish comrades succeeded in winning over a number of active key men from among the native workers for the union. This was about 5 or 6 months ago. And from that moment on things began to happen and very fast too.

SOME CONCLUSIONS FROM THIS

At this point it is worth while to draw one or two conclusions. There are numerous nuclei of the Party and branches of the union of a type similar to the one in Warren. In them, too, matters are not quite well. There is after a time stagnation. They are allowed

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to work by themselves. They are not given the necessary attention. The leading committees of the Party and the union are "too busy" to deal with these "small" problems. They are carrying on "mass work." It will, of course, be more correct to say they are carrying on general agitational work and are lost in a sea of routine questions. That is why the E. C. C. I. has directed our Party to make a change in its work to send the best forces of the Party down below and to concentrate the attention of the Party on the basic sections of the American proletariat in the key industries and give especial attention to the development of the work in the shops. If this direction is taken seriously, if we carry through the decisions of the Fourteenth Plenum of the Central Committee and of the recent meeting of the Central Committee (August) we will be able to develop many situations like Warren, and with more thorough preparation and therefore with better results.

Another important lesson to draw from the experience in Warren is that the foreign born workers, especially at present when there is the fierce terror against them, want to unite with the native workers for the struggle. They want the native workers to take the lead. Of course, we do not have to make this conclusion mechanically. The foreign born workers are part and parcel of the proletariat of the United States. They will lead in many a struggle. But, nevertheless, the fact remains that this is an important problem for our Party and the revolutionary unions, which consist still largely of foreign born workers. The lessons for us is that we must more than ever make serious attempts to draw the native workers into the movement. And Warren, like numerous other struggles in the recent period, shows that this is quite possible under the present conditions—more so than ever before.

It was therefore not only the objective situation in Warren but mainly the development of our organization there that led to the decision that Warren be one of the concentration centers both of the union and the Cleveland Party District Committee. The few native workers that joined the union brought new life and a new fighting spirit into the organization. In a period of a few weeks hundreds of steel workers in Warren and Niles (a town a few miles away) joined the union. These workers were all in the Republic mills of Warren and Niles. The Republic Steel Co., which is the third largest steel corporation in the country, has some 10 plants in the territory, including such cities as Youngstown, Canton, Massillon, and also in the Buffalo District. In addition to the few hundreds that were brought directly into the union nearly 2,000 had designated their willingness to join the union by signing application cards. The union still worked badly, with the result that they were not actually brought into the Union.

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NATURE OF ACTIVITY OF UNION

The union began to hold mass meetings, it carried on mass recruiting, efforts were made, and only partially successful, to organize the union on a shop and department basis. But the union did not succeed in developing united front committees inside the mill to include also those who either did not join the union or belonged to the Amalgamated Association. The union also failed to develop struggles in the mill on the numerous grievances from which the workers suffer. The perspective became almost entirely a mass strike or failure. This, of course, had its positive side as well as its negative side. A great weakness also consisted in the fact that the union leadership as such did not take up the fight for the unemployed steel workers. The point of view was even put forward that the union should work only among the employed and the unemployed council should work among the unemployed and the two should be kept separate, so as not to confuse the workers. The leading union committees fought against this wrong theory, but did not overcome it in time. A further weakness which was very detrimental in the struggle was the fact that the work of recruitment was limited mainly to the skilled and semi-skilled workers and the native workers. Little effort was made to draw in the foreign born and Negro workers. Here we had a situation where the union in the shop began with all Finnish workers having no contact with the native workers. But then there developed the other extreme—a failure to draw the foreign born workers into the union. But this was not merely the neglect of the foreign born. It was the neglect of the most exploited unskilled workers. In all these mistakes we had an expression of the reformist practices and craft ideology with which these native leaders—just coming out of the Amalgamated Association—were still saturated. And while our Party comrades fought against this, they in practice capitulated to these practices. In fact, one of the greatest weaknesses during this whole period was the failure of the Party to give serious attention to the work in Warren. The local comrades of the Party, who remained almost entirely the same as before, mostly the Finnish comrades, had to an extent the tendency to say—now that we have brought these new native workers, let them do the rest. By this I do not mean to say that they became passive. But they forgot they were still the Party forces and they had to lead. It is true once more we can not lay the whole blame on the local comrades. In the leadership of the union (from Pittsburgh) there was an inclination too much to criticize our local comrades and not to fight against some of the weaknesses of the new elements in the union. The Cleveland District of the Party also did not give sufficient attention to the

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leadership of the Party in this important situation. Of course, it can be said that the comrades in Cleveland were at this time hard pressed by many tasks, including such as the placing of the Party on the ballot, which they succeeded for the first time in doing in a national election, and which constitutes a big victory for the Party. Also that a new leadership was placed in the district, which still did not have its full grip on the complex of problems in such an important district like Cleveland. But it must also be added that this neglect was partly due to the fact that they comrades did not fully appreciate the big situation that was developing in Warren and the great opportunity that this opened up for the building of the Party among these new elements. The fact remains that while the union had drawn in hundreds of new members, the Party had remained almost as of old.

THE PREPARATIONS FOR THE STRIKE

The positive feature in the attitude of the new native elements that now dominated the life of the union in Warren was that they pressed hard for immediate preparations for the mass struggle they saw coming. The leadership of the Steel and Metal Workers *Industrial Union, and of the Party, still continued to travel somewhat* at the old pace. The local comrades demanded forces, building of the strike machinery, relief machinery, strike fund, etc. But very little of this work was carried through in time. One of the basic causes for this was that while generally there was agreement that there must be a strike perspective in Warren, this was not made very concrete. For example, there was not the preparation directly for such a moment as September 1, although it is known to all that every 60 days the schedules are revised in line with the sliding scale agreement. And especially poor were the political preparations —that is, the formulation of the demands, the popularization of the demands, the work inside the Amalgamated Association, the building of the united front, the building up of the unity of the skilled and the unskilled, the Negro and white workers, the employed and the unemployed, etc. This, of course, followed directly from the weaknesses of the work of the union already indicated above.

HOW THE STRIKE WAS CALLED

The decision to strike was precipitated by the firing by the company of some of the most militant workers in the plant. About two weeks before the strike until the beginning of the strike some 50 workers were fired from the mill. Of course there was the most important of all reasons to strike, the scheduled cut of the wages affecting the skilled workers. But this was the case many times in

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the past. This time this, together with the clear intention of the company as revealed in the mass firing, brought to the leading comrades the decision to strike at this time. But, as already shown, they were not well prepared, either politically or organizationally. But the mass discontent was rising. It was clearly a moment that could not be lost. In such moments it was absolutely correct to decide upon the strike and to complete the preparations in the course of the struggle.

The strike was called in the following manner. First, the union executives decided upon the strike. Then they brought this recommendation to the members of the union. Some few hundred members of the union came directly from the mill shift after work and voted. They voted unanimously for strike. This decision was then brought on the eve of the strike to a mass meeting of the workers, gathered at the Court House Square. Some three thousand steel workers and their families were present at the meeting. They thundered unanimously for the strike and the strike was called.

THE DEMANDS OF THE STRIKE

The leaflet announcing the mass meeting also contained the strike demands. It included only the following demands: One, that the wage cut be withdrawn. Two, the reinstatement of the dismissed workers. Three, recognition of the union. Here it can be said again that the union failed to draw up the demands for the other departments that, although not affected by the sliding scale agreement cut, had many grievances that they wished to fight against. Also there were no demands drawn up for the unemployed. There were no special demands for the Negro workers, not to speak of the women and young workers.

THE STRIKE IS ON

The mass meeting decided upon a surprise move that took the company unawares. The workers marched directly to the factory and on the same evening after the meeting turned back some 600 to 700 workers who had to go to work on that shift. Again we must be impressed with the deep going radicalization of the workers who, though they did not yet know of the strike, or certainly did not know that it will take place the same evening, though they did not know the demands, and some of the unskilled knew from the leaflet that for them there were no demands, yet they turned back and did not go to the mill. The strike was effective. Immediately the majority of the hot mill crews were out and by the morning 15 out of the 19 hot mills could not work. In the end only 1½

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of the 19 crews were working, being assembled from all the "loyal" Amalgamation Association men in the different hot mills.

Not until the mass meeting decided to strike did the company believe it was possible to strike the mill and especially through the Steel and Metal Workers Industrial Union. Until a few weeks before the strike the company did not think the matter very serious. It was then they decided to fire the most militant workers they could spot. Even after the strike vote some of the bosses and foremen did not believe there would be a strike. This was due to the fact that in this mill there was no strike for some 25 or 30 years. Even in the 1919 steel strike this mill, which was then owned by the Trumbull Steel Company, did not strike, but remained working under an Amalgamated Association agreement. The company believed that the mill was impregnable against strike, because of the influence and treachery of the Amalgamated Association leadership.

COMPANY-AMALGAMATED ASSOCIATION MANOEUVER

The company and the Amalgamated Association officials, already before the strike somewhat fearful of the situation, though not believing it would come to strike, decided that the official announcement of the wage cut be withheld from the workers. Usually the first monthly number of the *Amalgamated Association Journal* publishes the schedules for the next 60 days. The September 1 issue omitted this announcement. But the union had learned from good authority that the new schedules were signed by the committee of three, which also includes the International president of the Amalgamated Association, Mike Tighe. Immediately after the strike began the company announced that there would be no wage cut. This announcement was made unofficially through the press the first day of the strike. But the workers continued the strike. The strike committee was broadened. Demands were worked out to include all workers, including the Negro workers. Relief machinery was set in motion and from the very first day relief came in from a number of steel centers, including Canton, Ohio, and Farrel, Pa., again showing the tremendous willingness of the steel workers in the whole region to fight and the high degree of solidarity.

MASS PICKETING—WORKERS LEARN LESSON

Mass picketing continued throughout the strike, though the majority of the workers stayed at home. These workers, who had never before participated in a mass struggle, were not mobilized for picketing. The whole nature of the preparations did not make clear to them their tasks as strikers. But, nevertheless, there were mass picket lines the evening the strike was declared and the next day.

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At first the workers were allowed to picket. The local workers showed that they still suffered many illusions as to the role of the state and especially the local police, among whom the strikers counted many as their personal friends. But the workers were disillusioned very quickly. The police clubbed the workers mercilessly. Dozens of workers were brought into the strike hall bleeding and wounded. The police even went so far as to open fire on the picket lines. The workers showed splendid resistance. But the picket lines suffered from two things. First, they did not include the great mass of the strikers and their families and, secondly, they had no organized defense corps. This reign of terror also stopped all meetings in the Court House Square. Many of the workers, including quite a number of the leaders, were arrested. These very same workers who looked friendly towards the local police soon learned the true meaning of the state—that it is an instrument of the capitalists for the suppression of the workers.

WORKERS SCORE FIRST VICTORY—STRIKE IS CALLED OFF

In the evening of the first day of the strike (Thursday) the company, the Amalgamated Association officials and the police made the rounds to the workers' homes, telling them there would be no wage cut, although one was due, and that all those who do not return to work will be fired out of the mill. It was clear that if the wage cut was withdrawn or even "postponed" the main issue upon which the strike was precipitated would be removed. Had the strike been better prepared along the lines indicated above, the strike would have had a different base entirely. But considering the whole situation, it was decided that the strike should be called off. A committee was elected to see the company and to agree to calling off the strike if the company publicly acknowledged that the wage cut is withdrawn and the fired workers would be reinstated. But the swiftness of the events, the whole weakness of the organization, the inability to see the company—all this made it imperative that the strike be called off on Friday in order not to allow a situation in which the strike would peter out and a large number of the most militant elements blacklisted. The strike committee first discussed the question. There was some opposition to calling off the strike on the ground that the wage cut would probably come later anyhow, so why not continue the strike. But this was soon liquidated and the strike committee decided unanimously to issue a statement ending the strike, pointing out that the workers, through the struggle, had defeated the company-Amalgamated Association wage cut and calling upon the workers to build their organization and prepare for more decisive struggles in the future. This statement was accepted by the

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workers and the first heroic struggle of the Warren workers ended with a partial victory—but a significant victory, under the circumstances, and especially a big blow to the strike-breaking leadership of the Amalgamated Association.

SITUATION AFTER THE STRIKE

Thus far the wage cut has not been put into effect, although the September 8 issue of the *Amalgamated Association Journal* announces the new schedule, which amounts to about a 6½ per cent cut, which was put through in other mills. Some 100 additional workers were laid off because of the strike activity. The Amalgamated Association has helped the bosses to initiate a reign of terror in the mill. The Amalgamated Association immediately after the strike held a meeting, at which Mike Tighe spoke and at which he promised under all conditions to live up to the "agreement," which means, of course, to put through the cut. How soon they will undertake to do this remains to be seen. One thing is certain, we must be prepared for this. The Amalgamated Association "loyal" men are given some privileges in the mill. The Amalgamated Association is forcing workers to join up with the Amalgamated Association under the penalty of losing their jobs. There are some indications that the plant may establish the Amalgamated Association checkoff as practiced by Lewis among the miners, by Hillman in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and by the Socialists and Musteites in the Hosiery Workers Union. It is also worth mentioning that the September 8 issue of the *Amalgamated Association Journal* devoted some five pages to an attack on the Communists and the red steel union, showing clearly that the Amalgamated Association has suffered quite a blow but intends to fight back. We have not by far defeated the Amalgamated Association leadership, though we have considerably shattered the confidence of the masses in them.

ROLE OF THE PARTY AND THE UNION IN THE STRIKE

The union, of course, played a very important role throughout the strike and has gained great influence, not alone in Warren, but throughout the whole of the Mahoning Valley and even among steel workers in other parts of the country. But the union did not succeed in gaining many new members during the strike. It is true that the strike lasted only a day and a half. But the primary reason for this failure to recruit is due to the fact that the machinery was not organized to recruit from the very beginning of the strike.

The Party did not play a very important role in the strike except indirectly, in giving leadership through its committee and through the Party members active in the strike. But the Party as such did not come before the workers, either through leaflets, meetings, or

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otherwise reacting to the important questions with which the workers were confronted. And except for some picked individuals there was no real recruitment into the Party. This failure, of course, can not be ascribed only to the Party organizations as such. It still reflects the fact that the Party comrades and organizers engaged in building the unions do not consider it their duty at all times to build the Party.

ROLE OF NEGRO WORKERS IN THE STRIKE

The Negro workers of Warren gave a splendid example of solidarity in the strike. And yet they could point to the fact that they were greatly discriminated against and driven out of the mills the first ones during the layoffs. And it was this very fact that was made use of by some white workers in the leadership of the union who prior to the calling of the strike voted against including a demand against discrimination of Negro workers on the ground that there were not many Negro workers in the mill. Of course, this was only an excuse. The real reason was that these workers were still filled with the poison of white chauvinism, which is very strong in Warren, where the Ku Klux Klan operates. But the Negro workers put them to shame at the very beginning of the strike. The bosses offered Negro workers $10 a day during the strike and steady jobs after the strike if they would take the jobs of the strikers. And what was the answer of the Negro workers? They beat up the superintendent who came to make them this offer. After this inspiring act of solidarity the strike committee the first day of the strike unanimously voted to include the demand against discrimination in the strike demands. It is also important to mention that among some of the Party comrades there were inclinations to capitulate before this outright white chauvinism. This act of the Negro workers of Warren should be made known to every worker, especially every white worker in the United States.

TASKS AFTER THE STRIKE

Though the strike ended with a partial victory for the workers, it must be admitted that we can not underestimate the negative feature of the strike in the fact that the 50 workers who were fired before the strike were not reinstated and that an additional 100 were fired as a result of the strike. Aside from the fact that these workers lost their jobs, it means a big weakening of the union inside the mill. Fortunately, there are still some few hundred members of the union in the mill. But the whole work of the union must now be reorganized. At this point it is worth while mentioning that the blacklisted workers, at least for present, are in very good fighting spirit. And that among the new elements, especially the leading ele-

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ments, there has been broken down many of the remnants that they brought with them of the practices and policies of the reformist unions. This creates a good base for the future work in the mill. But the whole work must be reorganized in line with the new situation in the mill, the condition of the union, etc. And the whole reorganization must be made with the perspective of coming struggles, and this and other mills of the Republic Steel, with the view of winning over the following from the Amalgamated Association of the establishment of the broad united front of the workers for struggle. Much of this work has already been undertaken and partly carried through. We mention it here in order to give a better picture of the whole situation.

REORGANIZING THE WORK INSIDE THE MILL

Before the strike there was a growing carelessness with regard to agents of the bosses which resulted in premature firing of some of the leading forces. The work was not properly organized on a department basis, with smaller groups, captains, etc. This is now being undertaken. At the same time, some of the leading elements who are blacklisted will be assigned to work with the small groups, thus partly overcoming the weakening of the leadership inside the mill. While keeping in the forefront the perspective of mass struggle attention will be given to the development of struggle around shop grievances. Already one of the departments has decided to make a fight for water, which is denied them now, although they work under inhuman heat conditions. Also attention will be directed to establishment of organization in all departments and not as heretofore in a number of departments of skilled workers.

WORK AMONG THE UNEMPLOYED

Already the unemployed members of the union have been organized to work especially through the unemployed councils and fight for relief. Of course, they will also be an important instrument in the penetration inside the shops. The comrades in the union who in the past wanted to keep this work separated from the union have now learned an important lesson. They are now among the unemployed—some of them—and they are among the most active in working to win the unemployed. Already demands have been drawn up for relief from the city and, if I am not mistaken, presented to the local government (at least this was one of the plans).

The local union executive is being reorganized so that it shall consist of a majority still inside the mill and represent all the important departments and crafts. This was especially necessary because a large number of the members of the executive were victimized in the course of the struggle.

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The Warren strike is being utilized to stimulate the work in the other Republic mills and the steel mills generally in this region. Organizers and leading workers from Warren will be sent to the other centers to build the union. Already the union has membership or contact in some five or six of the Republic mills in Ohio and Buffalo. For this purpose a District Conference of the union is being organized. Additional forces were already assigned by the National Office of the Steel and Metal Workers Industrial Union, to work from Warren. It is necessary, of course, that the positive and negative sides of the strike shall be popularized among the workers in Warren in the first place and among the workers in the Republic Mills. The Steel and Metal Workers Industrial Union has the task of making known the lessons of this important struggle to all steel workers throughout the country and to utilize this struggle to accelerate the work of building the union nationally.

WORK INSIDE THE AMALGAMATED ASSOCIATION

The union would make the biggest mistake if it rested on its laurels and underestimated the work of exposing the Amalgamated Association officialdom and winning the workers inside the Amalgamated Association for a united front program of struggle and into the revolutionary union. Where the Amalgamated Association has a mass base we must organize our opposition and co-ordinate the work of the opposition with the work of our union. The role of the Amalgamated Association in the recent strikes not only in Warren but in the other centers, as, for example, in the Panhandle section of West Virginia, must be exposed. The Amalgamated Association will be a factor to be dealt with in every struggle undertaken by the workers and our union. This we saw in the Mansfield, Ohio strike of unorganized. We must not take the position that the Amalgamated Association is a small organization, and therefore not dangerous. Just like in Warren, where it has a skeleton organization, it may be brought in by the bosses against the workers and the revolutionary union of steel and metal workers.

MUST FIGHT FOR THE NEGRO WORKERS

Our union must develop a special struggle for the Negro workers. This must be a fight against every form of discrimination against the Negro workers. The very fact that only a small number of Negro workers are employed in the mill must not be used as an excuse for not fighting for the Negro workers, but just the opposite: it must be made the basis for the fight against discrimination. We raise the demands for hiring of Negro workers, for rehiring those laid off and the right of the Negro workers to *all jobs* in the mill at the same pay as white workers. The union must fight that the Negro

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workers receive relief on the same basis as the white workers through all city and private relief organizations. The union must, at the same time, fight against all forms of political and social discrimination against Negro workers in the community and in any of the institutions. At the same time, Negro workers must be drawn in on an equal basis with the white workers to all positions in the union.

THE PARTY MUST LEAD

During the coming weeks the Party and the union face a great possibility to follow up the lessons the workers have learned in the course of the strike by mobilizing the workers around the election platform and the candidates of the Party. The steel workers especially can be mobilized in this campaign because they know that the Party of which William Z. Foster, who led the 1919 steel strike, is the standard-bearer, is their Party.

This whole program will be carried through only if the Party gives serious attention to this Warren situation and the surrounding territory. The Party nucleus is still too weak to be relied upon to carry through this program without constant guidance by the Cleveland Party District Committee. The nucleus must be guided in the development of the work from day to day. Representatives of the District Committee must spend much time here. They must assist in the recruitment in the Party, for which there is an important organized base in the union. The Party fraction in the union must be built up.

WARREN IS A SIGNAL FOR OTHER CENTERS

Warren is a signal for other districts, cities and shop nuclei. There are more than dozens of potential Warrens that can be developed with even more favorable conditions. Warren shows that not only the workers in Warren are ready to fight, but also the steel workers of Gary, Youngstown, McKeesport and other centers, that the marine workers in New York and Philadelphia, that the textile workers of Lawrence and Passaic, of New Bedford and Allentown are ready to fight. The miners are fighting the whole year round. The workers of the United States are demanding that we lead them in struggle. This, again, Warren shows. Here are native workers, many of whom only yesterday were part of the Ku Klux Klan and who now fight under the leadership of our Party and the revolutionary unions. Not only this. We have dozens of Party shop nuclei and union branches in many plants. They are yearning for leadership just as the workers are looking to us for leadership. Here is the problem—even a challenge. How shall we meet it? We must carry through the line of the E. C. C. I. embodied in the resolutions of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Plenums of the Central Committee.

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The Sharpening Capitalist Offensive, the Rising Tide of Mass Struggles and the Next Tasks of the Party

RESOLUTION OF THE FIFTEENTH PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, C. P., U. S. A.

1. In spite of the much more favorable conditions for the development of revolutionary mass work, the fundamental change in the Party's work called for by the Fourteenth Central Committee Plenum has not been begun. As yet no serious efforts have been made for carrying through those essential changes necessary to this end that were pointed out in the resolution of the Fourteenth Plenum. The analysis of our problems and tasks contained in that resolution remain in full force. What was there stated that "the work of the Party fundamentally remains in the same groove" remains true four months later. Of course, the Party has made and is making certain advances (several successful unemployed struggles and building a few mass councils, some successful strike struggles, election of the first Communist municipal officials, the mass response to the Nominating Convention and to the election tours of Foster and Ford, especially certain advances among Negro masses, etc.). But still the backwardness of factory work, the building of the lower Party organizations, the weakness of the unemployed struggle, the weak development of the revolutionary unions and the work in the reformist unions, the inadequate concentration on the most important districts, sections and factories, and the enormous fluctuation of Party membership—all these weaknesses of the Party reflect the failure of the Party to understand the fundamental nature of the change required in our work. The first task of our Party today is to popularize and master the directives of the Fourteenth Plenum, vigorously applying them in the daily work and increasing mass struggles.

2. Since the Fourteenth Central Committee Plenum in April, the crisis has plunged to new low levels and continues to deepen. American capitalism during this period has definitely entered upon the path of inflation. The Reconstruction Finance Corporation with its four billion dollar subsidy for banks and corporations, is at the

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same time a typical example of that "nationalization of losses" which is greeted by the Socialist Party as "a step toward Socialism." In addition there has been one million direct currency inflation, three billions of savings confiscated by bank closings, and large-scale credit inflation by the Federal Reserve policy of wholesale purchases of government bonds. This inflation is already capitalized by finance capital, as expressed by the recent stock market rise which it is openly admitted has no basis in the economic situation. Inflation is the second large-scale assault against the living standard of the workers, farmers and dispossessed middle classes; it is a "controlled inflation," as advocated by Norman Thomas, *i.e.*, controlled entirely in the interests of finance capital. The offensive against the masses grows fiercer. The bourgeoisie is carrying through measures of decreased purchasing power through inflation, new wage cuts, speed-up, rationalization, more unemployment, exhaustion of the workers' reserves and further slashing of relief funds.

The deepening of the economic crisis is accompanied by and accelerates the serious sharpening of the international contradictions, first of all, between the capitalist world and the U. S. S. R., as well as within the imperialist camp itself (Anglo-American and Japanese-American contradictions, etc.). During the Japanese occupation of Shanghai and drive into Northern Manchuria, the Party (and the *Daily Worker*) correctly set itself the task to carry on an energetic campaign against Japanese imperialism as the robber and violator of the Chinese people and the spearhead of imperialist intervention against the Soviet Union. However, in carrying out this correct line, serious mistakes and weaknesses were shown, in allowing to fall into the background the role of American imperialism which "is feverishly preparing for war against its imperialist rivals and, above all, for intervention against the Soviet Union." (See *Daily Worker*, April 12.) The capitalist world is month by month sliding more and more inexorably into the new world war. It is absolutely wrong to interpret the fact that large-scale hostilities have not yet begun against the Soviet borders as meaning that the war danger has been postponed for another year. This interpretation of recent events, which is typical of the liberal viewpoint, has nothing in common with the real trend of events and forces. Such an interpretation depends upon factors outside the revolutionary mass struggle, for postponement of imperialist war.

3. In this situation the sharply increasing radicalization of broad masses, hitherto not involved in struggle, is more and more taking the form of mass actions which increase in size and scope. The

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rising struggles of the miners, almost uninterrupted since April 1 and increasing in size and intensity, have risen to the scale of mass marches of tens of thousands in Illinois; state troops have been employed against striking miners during this period in four states. The bonus march was an outstanding example of the radicalization of broad masses and the drawing into objectively revolutionary struggle of even sections of the most backward masses. Contrary to the experience of previous summers, when the activity of the unemployed workers had declined, this summer has witnessed the rising wave of struggle of the unemployed, culminating in the battle in St. Louis with its unexampled victory in winning the most important immediate demands. The broad penetration of Communism among the Negro masses, and the rising struggles of unorganized workers (High Point), the struggle of agricultural workers under revolutionary leadership (Colorado), revived and broadened struggles of fur and shoe workers, the growth of strikes among the American Federation of Labor workers, mainly over the heads of their leaders, characterize the growing radicalization of the past months.

The farmers are also beginning to fight throughout the country, the most militant expression of this struggle being the farmers' strike, which at this moment has spread through eleven states. With the mass upsurge has come an unexampled wave of demagogic "radicalism" within the old parties ("Progressives") and especially on the part of social-fascist leaders. The growing impoverishment of the masses and the growing radicalization of the masses, demands of the Party the initiation and leadership of the struggles in defense of the day-to-day interests of the masses, even of the slightest kind, aiming to widen them and raise them to ever higher class battles. These mass actions, embracing various sections of the entire country and penetrating ever deeper all sections of the impoverished masses, raise with unexampled sharpness the question of who will lead these masses—the Communist Party or the social fascists.

4. The masses are instinctively developing united action, the most varied elementary forms of the united front against their class enemies. Instinctively they feel the necessity of unity of all their forces. In this situation the menace of social fascism has become most acute. More sharply than ever appears the historic role of social fascism as the main helper of the capitalist class in splitting up the growing unity of the masses in struggle, heading the movement in order to behead it (East Ohio, Illinois, Anthracite), blunting the sharpness of the issues raised by the demands of the masses, demoralizing and dispersing their struggles. For this purpose the

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social-fascist leaders more and more cover their treachery with radical and even revolutionary phrases. Increasing activity in economic struggles, strikes and unemployment, formation of unemployed councils under social-fascist leadership (Unemployed Citizens' Leagues), increasing activity among the Negro masses, left phrases and maneuvers of the American Federation of Labor leadership (five-day week, maneuver on unemployed insurance, strike talk and bombastic "warnings" to the bourgeoisie, etc.). In addition to the Socialist Party leaders and their "left" subordinate groupings (Musteites, Lovestoneites, Trotskyites), a number of new forms of fascism and semi-fascism are springing up (the Cox movement, Liberty Party, etc.). In addition the self-styled "progressives" of the old parties are vieing with one another in the radicalism of their appeals to the masses. The bourgeoisie is more systematically supporting the social fascists as a barrier against Communism. All these factors already pointed out in the resolution of the Fourteenth Plenum have greatly sharpened since that time. They served to emphasize the role of the Communist Party as the leader and fighter for class unity of the workers and exploited masses. The Communist Party must in life learn how to infuse the elementary and spontaneous striving of the masses toward unity with the factors of consciousness, organization and a well-defined objective. The Communist Party must in practice really succeed in exposing before the masses by the facts of daily life, the pro-capitalist counter-revolutionary nature of the social-fascist leaders, especially the "left" variety, and demagogs of all brands. Only by successfully solving all the problems contained in this task, can the Communist Party prevent the social fascists from heading and dispersing the upsurge of the masses; only by winning the masses in daily struggle with the social fascist will it be possible for the Communist Party to successfully weld the united front of mass struggle against capitalism. Upon the issue of this struggle depends the winning of bread for the starving masses.

5. The chief obstacles which stand in the way of the development of a mass policy and the development of the Party still remain as given by the Fourteenth Plenum:

(a) Strong sectarian tendencies in the entire work of the Party, as well as in the mass organizations, tendencies which are based upon a deeply rooted formalism, still remain. The Party carries through the policy of the united front in a routine and formal way and in the recent period particularly, has failed to initiate a broad united front tactic in connection with the mass struggles as one of the chief ways of exposing the social fascists. The directives

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of the Comintern to put such a united front tactic into effect was not given consideration by the Central Committee. The Party has not learned how to connect itself up with the broad masses of non-Party and reformist workers. No essential changes have been made in work in the old unions. The development of mass struggles based upon concrete needs and the policy of drawing up of demands together with the workers has not been effected.

(b) Bureaucratic methods of work have not been overcome. The lack of development of forces from below in the work of the Party organizations and auxiliaries and stimulation of the initiative of the lower Party organizations, the persistence in inner-Party and routine work, the failure to develop new cadres, particularly from the forces coming forward from the mass struggles, all of which have been emphasized in the Fourteenth Plenum resolution, have not been overcome.

(c) The failure of the Party to advance in its mass work is further to be explained by the failure to put into effect the policy of concentration called for by the decisions of the Fourteenth Plenum. The concentration of leading forces from the central apparatus and district centers especially to the lower organizations and factories has not taken place. The policy of concentration with respect to the factories, development of model factories and model nuclei, etc., has only been carried through in a formal way.

(d) No advance has been made in the development of collective leadership throughout the Party. The establishment of collective secretariats, in the center, in the districts, the collective work of the Political Bureau with the Secretariat and Central Committee, the regular functioning on major political and organizational questions of the Secretariat and Political Bureau has not been accomplished and prevented the center from giving daily guidance and political leadership to the Party organizations. The tendency of conducting the work through individual organizers still persists. The leadership of the Party in mass organizations has been particularly narrow. The selection of new forces has occurred from too narrow a circle. A weakness that is especially menacing in the time of the developing struggles, has been the failure to effectively carry through the decisions of the Party. Resolutions and decisions remain on paper and there is no systematic Bolshevik drive to carry them through.

The leadership of the Party has not kept a firm grip on the life of the Party and has not reacted to mistakes and wrong tendencies within the Party, and has not systematically taken measures to overcome them. There has not been a steady fight of the leadership to carry the line of the Party into the daily life of the Party.

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6. The right danger which is the main danger, is the most serious in view of the sharpening of the mass struggle. This danger has come forward more clearly since the Fourteenth Central Committee Plenum, especially expressed in dragging behind the mass struggles instead of boldly leading them, in hesitation and vacillation before problems of the struggle which require immediate and decisive leadership, in raising the excuse of "lack of preparation" as a reason for failing to lead and organize the spontaneous mass struggles. This was especially expressed in the bonus march of the veterans on Washington (see special resolution of the Political Buro examining this struggle in detail); in the failure of the National Miners Union convention in March to pose the question of organizing and leading the miners' struggles which began on April 1; in the loss of leadership of the Eastern Ohio miners' strike to the United Mine Workers of America, which had last year been driven from the field; in the failure to penetrate and win the leadership of spontaneous unemployed movements which thereby fell into the hands of social-fascist leaders (Pittsburgh, Seattle, Youngstown, numbers of small towns in the middle west); in certain hesitations to support the farmers' strike movement and the tendency to describe it as a "strike against the workers"; in hesitation to accept and organize the support to the Communist Party of the leftward moving intellectuals.

Precisely for these reasons there must be a determined struggle to overcome sectarianism, which remains the chief obstacle in the mass work of the Party, especially as it expresses itself in the trade union work, and which particularly hinders the development of the united front from below.

7. The politicalization of the Party's work is still extremely weak. Politicalization requires first of all, sensitivity to the needs of the masses, immediate reaction to all issues, and foreseeing struggles in order the better to prepare them. This weakness results in a mechanical struggle against social fascism, especially the left varieties, and the failure to link up the struggle for the immediate demands of the workers with the revolutionary way out of the crisis.

The still extremely weak political life of the Party shows itself especially in the struggle against social fasicsm, in the substitution of invective and name-calling for well-reasoned argument and exposure of the social fascists on the basis of concrete every-day facts. Our Party does not yet fully understand that the masses can only be won by *convincing* them of the correctness of our program and methods of every-day work. There is a tendency to fall back upon mechanical repetition of slogans, instead of dis-

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cussing and explaining these slogans and relating them to the daily life and needs of particular groups of workers. Where attempts are made to develop political discussion, there are still strong tendencies to fall back upon high-falutin' language not understandable by the workers and unrelated to their daily life. There is widespread practice of looking down upon the "backward" masses, of patronizing them and ordering them about as persons incapable of understanding "high politics." Above all, there is insufficient consciousness of the serious nature of these deviations and weaknesses in the daily practice of our Party, a lack which is the greatest barrier to an energetic and systematic transformation of the Party's work. But this transformation alone can sink the Party's roots among the masses and establish that close personal contact with the masses which will transform our Party into a real Bolshevik mass Party.

8. The situation in America, together with the left maneuvers and increased activities of the reformists in leading economic struggles, imperatively demands that we place in the center of our work the task of carrying through a correct united front policy. The basic methods to expose the left maneuvers of the reformists must be to propose openly to the masses in the local reformist organizations immediate concrete actions for carrying through in practice their promises and propose a united front basis for these concrete actions. The united front tactic consists in approaching the non-Party masses on the basis of their immediate needs and demands; proposing to these masses immediate concrete actions to satisfy these immediate needs; and developing such special forms of organization of these struggles that will provide the broadest possible united struggle front, without requiring from the non-Party participants in this struggle the immediate acceptance of the full program of the Party, of its organizational forms, or its formal leadership. The formation of the united front is therefore, not the setting up of a new mass organization with its own individual membership. The basic organizational form is the committee of action elected from below by all the workers engaged in a particular struggle, either from their existing organizations where these support the struggle, or from militant groups within these organizations, and from unorganized workers. All these organizational forms of the united front must be suited to the special concrete conditions of each individual struggle and locality. Any attempt to force the united front within the strait-jacket of preconceived "perfect" plans is certain to defeat its purpose. The essential feature of the united front is that it unites hitherto separated groups of workers for a joint struggle which would otherwise be more diffi-

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cult or impossible. Within such united front activities, the efforts of the Communist Party must not under any circumstances be that of trying to secure a mechanical monopoly of leadership, but on the contrary, the main attention must be given to bringing forward, strengthening and developing the honest, militant, non-Party leading workers and the development of the broadest possible non-Party leading cadres. The failure to carry through in practice these basic concepts of the united front tactic is the basic cause for the scandalously inadequate development of broad mass united front movements around the Communist Party in the present election campaign and the multitude of weaknesses and failures in the various separate struggles in which the Party has participated.

We must not put forward these questions abstractly, but shall determine beforehand those issues and events which especially touch the masses and merge them in our consideration of proposals of exactly these burning issues and demands of the workers. It is necessary to connect up the united front campaign with the election campaign. We must build united front first in the struggles now going on — mining, steel, chemical and the unemployed movement. There must not be a single mass strike without the participation and support of the Communists and their serious defense of the workers' demands. We must begin a serious broad united front campaign in the Party and trade union press, explain the tasks to the Party organizations, discuss questions of the application of the united front in each organization separately; first of all in the concentration districts, giving the lower organizations more initiative while carefully correcting their mistakes and weighing their experiences. The fundamental task is immediately to draw in broad masses, connecting the Party with them and winning them over.

9. In the consolidation and building of the lower Party organizations there is but the smallest progress being made. During the last months there has even been a serious decline in the dues payment of the Party membership, in spite of increased recruiting. While some districts still show small gains, others have absolutely declined; particularly serious in this respect is the situation in Districts 2 and 5. The decline in dues payments shows a loosening of the Party ties, which if unchecked will result in permanent loss of Party members. Radical steps must be taken to meet and solve this problem, especially in the most important districts and sections.

10. It is impossible to register any notable advance in the penetration of shops, establishment of shop and grievance committees, shop nuclei or shop papers. This is true, not only generally, but with equal force, of those shops selected for special concentration. Cer-

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tain positive beginnings that have been made have not been made known to the Party. This reveals that the importance of concentration as a means of furnishing concrete examples of correct work in order to life the entire work of the Party on a higher plane, is not yet seriously understood by any part of the Party. This weakness begins in the Party center and extends with increasing intensity to the lower organizaions.

11. The continued inability of the Party to hold and consolidate its recruitment of new members has its basic cause in the weak political life of the units, sections and districts. There is a tendency to confine Party meetings to routine and organizational details, divorced from the living problems of the class struggle. The recruitment of new members has been absolutely neglected, especially in the midst of struggles and in key industries. This is also expressed in the inadequate circulation of Party literature, beginning with the *Daily Worker* and including the Party pamphlets, *The Communist* and other publications. It shows itself in the inadequate preparations for our agitational work among the masses, the poor quality of our leaflets, the low political level of our street meetings and even of the largest mass meetings. It is further shown in the underestimation of study circles, classes and school work.

12. From all of these basic weaknesses arise lack of initative and self-reliance in the lower units and committees of the Party. The comrades hesitate to initiate action, to give clear political and organizational directives to the masses. They tend to become lost in organizaional details and to see the solution of all difficulties in mere organizational readjustments. All of this means the lack of development of a clear, consistent and independent line of proletarian class struggle in the daily life of the Party, both politically and organizationally. Only a consistent line, after the example of the Russian Bolsheviks, in the daily practice can win the confidence and respect of the non-Party masses and consolidate their support around the Party. The responsibility for the development of this clear Party line rests first of all upon the Central Committee and its Political Bureau.

13. In the overcoming of the political and organizational weaknesses of the Party, special attention must be given to the systematic development of the existing leading cadres and the creation and promotion of new cadres. In spite of excellent decisions in this respect, the Party still progresses with inexcusable slowness. The handling of the leading cadres by authoritative committees is still characterized by lack of system, lack of well-considered policy and consistent follow-up, lack of assistance and guidance, lack of per-

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manence of lower cadres, lack of personal attention which is substituted by bureaucratic mechanical routine. In general there is still insufficient collective work and too much dissolving of the leading committees into one or two "most responsible" workers who assume, voluntarily or otherwise, the full responsibility for even the most important decisions. The solution of this problem is bound up with the whole question of politicalization of the Party's work, political education of each member and the general enrichment of the Party's political life. Every Party committee must begin to solve this problem by means of periodic well-prepared and organized political discussion on the events and problems of the day. Out of every discussion must emerge definite decisions calculated to strengthen the work of the Party among the masses.

14. In the period since the Fourteenth Plenum, the Young Communist League has not begun to carry out the line of the Young Communist International and Party for a turn towards mass work. This despite the growing militancy of the young workers (High Point, students) and the increased activities of the fascists and social fascists among the youth (Cox, organization of Defenders of America, growth of Young People's Socialist League, etc.). However, it must be stated that while our enemies realize more and more the importance of winning the youth, the Party continues to underestimate and neglect the youth. Without the necessary political guidance from the Party, the Young Communist League cannot break its present sectarian isolation. The growing danger of imperialist war especially places before the Party as one of its important tasks the winning of the youth. This must be done by careful attention from top to bottom to the needs of the young workers, to their demands, and to the activities of the Young Communist League in developing the struggles of the young workers. Especially is it necessary for the Party to Bolshevize the Young Communist League and its leadership by carrying on a stubborn struggle against all opportunist and sectarian tendencies which express themselves in the work of the youth.

15. The Central Committee calls attention to the very unsatisfactory situation in regard to the Party's work among Negroes. In spite of considerable successes in this field since the last Plenum (the smashing of Jim-Crowism in relief in Chicago, eviction fights in Pittsburgh, struggle against Jim-Crowism in Denver, victory in the Euel Lee case, dramatization of the struggle for equal rights in connection with the election campaign, Chicago convention, nomination of Ford as vice-presidential candidate, successful installation of two Negro District Organizers, beginnings of drawing Negroes

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into district cadres), the fact remains that fundamentally the Party's work among the Negroes remains in the same groove.

While the Party has been able to further dramatize its position on the Negro question as a result of these activities, and in this manner has aroused wide interest among the Negro masses, the *main characteristic* of the Party's work in this field has been and remains the sporadic nature of its activities, as witnessed in the failure to conduct energetic, sustained and consistent struggles in the defense of the every-day economic and political demands of the Negro toilers, and the failure to link this up with a thorough political exposure of the reformists, Negro and white, nad the popularization of its full program on the Negro question. As a result of this the revolutionary trade unions have not become the main channels for reaching the Negro toilers, as called for by the resolution of the Fourteenth Plenum.

Our struggle against lynching is still confined to campaigns around individual cases of lynch frame-ups, with no attempt being made to develop and broaden these struggles into a general offensive against lynching as an institution. We have failed to react to glaring cases of persecution of the Negro masses; the murder of railroad workers in the South, the attempt to deport Negroes from New Jersey, etc. We have completely failed to take up concretely the struggle for the Negros' right of franchise. The work on the Scottsboro case both legally and in respect to mass action, has been permitted to lag. There still exists great weakness in linking up the partial struggles for the every-day demands of the Negro toilers with the full Communist program on the Negro question.

The inadequate struggle against white chauvinism, insufficient struggle against and exposure of Negro reformism, are further serious weaknesses in our work. The development of Party cadres is still lagging behind the growth of our movement among Negroes. Finally, there is the deep political unclarity on the Negro question within the Party, expressed mainly in a failure to understand the national revolutionary character of the Negro question, leading to a denial of the necessity of a special approach in the work among the Negroes and the blurring over of special demands, failure to consolidate organizationally growing political influence. The result of all this is seen in the exceptionally high fluctuation in the Party's Negro membership.

Some small improvements are noticeable in the work in the South since the last plenum—the strengthening of the leadership in the Birmingham district, the initiation of the struggles for relief in industrial centers (Birmingham, Atlanta), the building of the share-choppers' union, the dramatization of the Communist Party pro-

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gram in connection with the election campaign in the South. But this work is still by far not commensurate with the present favorable situation in this field. There still exists in the Central Committee a serious underestimation of the national liberation movement in the South, as reflected, for example, in the liquidation of the *Southern Worker*.

These weaknesses in the Negro work are indissolubly connected with the general weaknesses in the Party's mass work (sectarianism, formalism, bureaucratic methods of work), which manifest themselves most sharply on the Negro field and hamper the turn in the Party's Negro work. This discrepancy between words and deeds, *i.e.*, between our correct program and slogans on the Negro question and the actual work of the Party, occurring in a period of most profound political awakening of the Negro masses, confronts the Party with grave danger if not immediately overcome. This situation is most glaringly reflected in the Negro work of the New York District (Harlem) where an extremely dangerous situation exists.

The path to the overcoming of the present situation in our Negro work lies in the energetic development of consistent struggles for the every-day demands of the Negro toilers, connecting this up with the fullest popularization of the entire program of the Party on the Negro question. In this connection, the fight against remnants within the Party and mass organizations of white chavinism, as the main obstacle in the work among Negroes, must be greatly strengthened and raised to a higher political level as part and parcel of the struggle for Negro rights. On the other hand, the struggle against and exposure of Negro reformists, as the chief social bulwark of imperialist Jim-Crow reaction among the Negro masses must be more skillfully and persistently conducted. Steps must be taken at once to insure the development of Negro cadres. Negro workers must be systematically drawn into leadership in all phases of the Party's mass work.

The clarification of the Party membership on our program on the Negro question must be greatly strengthened and speeded up.

In connection with the election campaign it is necessary to raise sharply the struggle against lynching and the disfranchisement of the Negro masses, and to organize concrete mass action around these issues.

16. Approaching the fourth winter of the crisis and the rise of broad mass struggles, the Party must be sharply aroused to the danger of the inevitable simultaneous sharpening of the repressive measures of the bourgeoisie against our Party and against the workers' organizations generally. The most effective defense of the open

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existence of the Party is to broaden and consolidate its mass basis and support. In addition to this, a necessary minimum of safeguarding measures must be taken to insure the Party's continuous functioning even under the most severe repression. These necessary measures have been carried through in an entirely inadequate manner. The further problems of systematically counteracting and exposing the widespread system of stool pigeons and provocateurs has as yet been attacked only in the most unsystematic way. Even the highly important article on this question published in the July issue of *The Communist* has been read by only a few leading comrades and hardly discussed at all in the district bureaus. The struggle against police terror and deportations must be properly combined with the economic struggle in order to involve the broadest masses. These questions are placed before the districts in the utmost seriousness and the Central Committee requires that systematic and energetic measures shall be taken to solve them.

17. The Central Committee decides on the following immediate, most pressing tasks:

Strengthening the Party:

(a) Serious carrying through of the recruiting drive to realize the slogan of 25,000 members during the election campaign.

(b) Assignment of the most capable forces for real concentration work in the most important factories and sections, strengthening of some districts and trade union fractions. Regular reports on the progress of this work, examination of its weaknesses and difficulties.

(c) Systematic examination of the leading cadres in the lower organizations, the development of a consistent policy for their improvement and strengthening and the development of collective work, drawing in new native elements, Negro, women and youth.

(d) The Party leadership must develop a true inner democracy (the widest extension of self-criticism in the increased activity and initiative of the Party membership). Without overcoming the prevailing atmosphere which stifles self-criticism and crushes the initiative of the membership, without developing the inner political life of the units, it will be impossible to assume the leadership of the mass struggles.

(e) The situation demands the strengthening of collective work and individual responsibility, the politicalization and training of new cadres, the political education of the membership on basis of the discussions, situations and tasks in the day-to-day work, the overcoming of the narrowness of the leading forces, etc. The test of Party leadership consists not only in being able to present the general line of the Party but to direct its application and practice in the day-to-

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day work, in the capacity to mobilize, organize and lead the Party membership in this work. The leadership which only mouths the general line of the Party but is incapable of expressing it in practice, is not fulfilling the task of leadership. All of which makes more urgent than ever the abandonment of the practice of making general decisions and of not carrying them into life. It makes more urgent the necessity of development of ways and means to check and control the carrying out of decisions.

(f) Widespread development of a system of study circles, political discussions, classes and special schools, the popularization of our resolutions to the members, etc. Systematic leadership of this work by responsible comrades.

(g) More serious development of Party fractions in all the mass organizations and the development of normal, healthy relationship between the fractions and non-Party masses, as laid down in the recent E.C.C.I. decisions.

(h) Systematic politicalization of the work of the District Bureaus and committees; political discussions to be well prepared and to result in the adoption of decisions, strengthening the work of the Party, infusing political content into all the organizational problems.

(i) Systematic development of literature distribution on a mass basis, the strictest accounting and responsibility for literature funds, placing this work upon a self-supporting basis. Greatly increased attention to the circulation of the *Daily Worker* and the various regional papers (*Southern Worker, Worker's Voice, Western Worker*). The *Southern Worker* which was suspended is to be immediately revived.

Mass Campaigns:

(a) The struggle for unemployment relief and insurance and the building of mass unemployed councils requires more bold and energetic development of local and neighborhood struggles for concrete demands. The chief weakness in this work is insufficient connection with the local political problems of this struggle. Every local demagog must be concretely exposed on the basis of his own words and deeds. A bold, relentless struggle must be made against the inequality of treatment in relief of Negroes, also single people, women, etc. Party cadres, especially those leading the unemployed work, must again study the directives of the Central Committee of October, 1931. Most resolute measures must be taken to break down the isolation and sectarian character of the majority of the Unemployed Councils.

(b) The leadership of the economic struggles, as the basis for the building of the revolutionary unions, especially among the miners, textile, steel, railroad and marine workers, with the utmost attention

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to drawing in Negroes, must be given more political guidance and organizational support. There must not be a single important struggle of the workers without the participation of the Communists as the best leaders, organizers and fighters for the immediate demands. The tactics of concentration upon the most important plants and sections must be really carried through in a serious manner. The whole Party must be involved in building the trade unions in these industries. Special attention must be given to work out concrete demands including special demands for Negroes, women, youth. In all of the larger cities, it is necessary to develop functioning trade union councils with a majority of non-Party delegates. The penetration of the factories with trade union organization, and unhesitating leadership of every struggle of the workers is the only basis for successful trade union work. The building of left oppositions in the reformist unions, which is still exceedingly weak, must be strengthened by new forces and especially by political guidance and the development of concrete immediate programs. The highly important work of the A. F. of L. Trade Union Committee for Unemployment Insurance and Relief must be extended and deepened; the forthcoming conference in Cincinnati at the time of the A. F. of L. Convention must be given energetic support.

(c) The unconditional support of the struggle of the veterans for the bonus and against the reduction of the disability allowances must be a main item of the work of every Party organization. The Negroes must be brought more into the movement and its leadership, on the basis of an uncompromising struggle for Negro rights. The resolution on the Lessons of the Bonus March and the next tasks of the veterans' movement must be discussed by every Party unit and committee and organizational steps taken to carry through the given tasks in each given area. The Party must fully support the veterans in their projected bonus march to the opening of Congress.

(d) The rising movement of struggle among the farmers places heavy responsibility upon every Party organization to develop systematic contacts in the country on the basis of unhesitating support of the farmers' struggles against starvation. More systematic work must be launched among the Negro farmers especially in the Black Belt. The proposal now being discussed by various farmers' organizations to call a Farmers' National Relief Conference in Washington at the time of the opening of Congress shall be energetically supported. Locals and committees of the United Farmers League shall be developed among all the unorganized contacts among the farmers, and left groups shall be formed among those members of the existing organizations.

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e) The election campaign must be taken up more systematically by every Party committee and the existing weaknesses must be energetically overcome. The Party must break through the traditional boundaries of parliamentary conception of the election struggle and develop mass struggles for the immediate needs of the starving population, on the basis of the united front as an integral part of the election campaign. The election campaign must be developed not only by the drawing in and organization of non-Party support and breaking of the tradition of narrow methods of agitation, but by giving to the election campaign the broad basis of day-to-day struggles against the capitalist attacks. Those sections of the Party which stand in the midst of and lead the struggle against wage-cuts, among the unemployed, for defense of the workers in the shops and fight in defense of the workers against the repressive measures of the bourgeoisie and in the organization of the fight against imperialist war, will be able to convince the workers of the leading role of the Party as their vanguard and this will express itself on election day. The local united front struggles for relief, against wage cuts, the struggles of the veterans, farmers, for Negro rights, against lynching and Jim Crowism, etc., are the starting point and the very foundation of the Communist election struggle. Out of these local struggles must be developed state actions and, finally, mass support for the National Unemployed Councils' call for a hunger march to Washington at the opening of Congress. The unemployed millions, together with the employed workers, must be roused and organized in a determined struggle for the realization of the slogan, "Not one worker or workers' family without decent food, clothing and shelter".

f) The struggle against imperialist war, which becomes increasingly important and pressing each day, must be seriously strengthened. The lag in this work since the 14th Plenum, revealed in our agitation, but especially in the dropping off of the number of special actions (against shipment of munitions, against Japanese imperialism) and in the inadequate August 1 demonstrations, reveals weaknesses which must be overcome. The most systematic and energetic efforts must be made to carry out the directives given for this campaign, to rouse a mass movement against American imperialism and its war preparations, to defend the Chinese people, and to build a living wall of defense around the Workers' Fatherland, the Soviet Union.

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Causes and Meaning of the Farmers' Strike and Our Tasks as Communists

By HARRISON GEORGE

NO sooner had farmers begun to enter into physical conflict with the capitalist government on the picket lines of Iowa, than that oily old apologist for Wall Street, the New York *Times*, came to the rescue with an article by "an economist and student of agricultural affairs", Bernhard Ostrolenk, entitled (ambiguously)—"Stoically the Farmer Faces the Facts," and sub-titled (falsely)—"Inured to Hardship, He Feels Himself to be Better Off Than the City Man."

"Many a farmer has become gray before his time," says this miserable "economist"(who might easily be quoted against himself) concerning farmers' difficulties, which are now said to be mostly past. "But there are now compensating features. Because of good crops and recently forced practices for diversification and self-sufficiency (about these we will comment further on—H. G.), the farmer has food for his family, food for his stock and something to do when he gets up in the morning."

Strange to say, the impoverished farmers are showing no sense of gratitude. They get up in the morning, not to milk the cows and curry the horses, but to picket in masses upon the highways, to wreck the auto-trucks and crack the skulls of their kulak neighbor, and to engage in bloody battle with the armed forces of capitalist government.

WHY ABOUT PRICES

Why they are engaged in these actions can be seen from the following table showing the index numbers of prices received by farmers for their produce (reckoning the average of five pre-war years as equal to 100), compared to prices paid by farmers for what they purchase:

Product Sold by Farmers	1919	1929	1932	(July)
Grains	231	121	42	"
Fruits and vegetables	189	136	83	"
Meat animals	206	156	72	"
Dairy Products	173	140	63	"
Poultry products	206	159	65	"
Cotton and cotton seed	247	145	41	"
All products—averaged	209	138	57	"

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Commodities Bought by Farmers	1919	1929	1932	
Articles used for living, food, etc.	214	160	115	(March)
Articles used for product, such as machinery, fertilizer, seed, etc.	192	146	112	"
Ratio of Prices Received to Prices Paid	102	89	54	"

From the above table, one can easily see why agrarian discontent is taking the form of a farmers' rebellion against prices paid to them for their produce.

This table also shows, when we take into account the way the marketing monopolies hold up the price of bread, meat and other produce bought at retail by the city workers, and the relatively sustained high prices of commodities bought at retail by the farmers, how monopoly capital, finance capital, is maintaining its profits, and throwing all the burden of the crisis upon the toiling masses of both city and farm.

For some reason, our Party has completely neglected to arouse the masses against the outrageous robbery of high prices for food in the cities. Even the individual Party member lacks the inner rebellion to tell a pig of a restaurant proprietor that he is a scoundrel and a thief when charged, for example, 65 cents for two lamb chops when farmers are selling whole lambs for 25 cents. The Central Committee must bring an abrupt end to this indifference and neglect. Mass struggles against extortion prices for food must be organized in every city, linking this up with the demands of the unemployed. This struggle of the city workers *against* high prices does not exclude but, on the contrary, demands that the workers unite with and support the farmers in *their* struggle *for* higher prices. Not only that, but there must be mutual participation. Start a fight in the city against the high price of milk and get a delegation of dairy farmers to tell the city workers what *they* get for milk. Reverse the delegation, and send city workers to tell farmers what prices *they* pay, and unite both forces against the "spread" in prices which represents the robbery of both by monopoly capital.

But this sore spot of prices is only one of many causes of discontent, although it is the one most obvious and painful to the farmers. Recalling the tremendous fall of farm income, we see that taxes have risen 266 per cent since pre-war years. We see that 200,000,000 acres (out of a total of 987,000,000 acres in farms) are tax-delinquent and that in all sections countless thousands of farmers are losing their farms by seizure of the state for unpaid taxes. We must recall also that tax assessments are always "rigged" against the small owner and in favor of the large owner and the giant monopolies.

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Cash rents, paid by small and middle tenants, have gone down little if any in proportion to their reduced incomes. Rent paid in kind or shares has generally not declined at all—that is, in the bulk. One half or one third of the crop must still go to the landowner, and the price on what is left to the tenant and cropper having fallen, he is reduced below human subsistence levels. The percentage of tenants to owners steadily rises, even in the most "solid" regions.

Debt, and interest charges upon debt, eats up every last cent which even the thriftiest small and middle farmer can scrape together. Even more, because we see that mortgage foreclosures and seizures of both land, equipment and crops, for debt, are sweeping the rural districts like a tidal wave.

WHO OWNS THE LAND

When we clearly understand that mortgaged small and middle farmers are really not "owners" and have no prospect of paying off their debt, we get the following picture of how the land is passing out of the possession of those who toil upon it:

Total Number of Acres of Land in Farms	987,000,000
Number of acres held under mortgage	173,000,000
Acres farmed by tenants	307,000,000
Acres held by rich farmers in farms of over 1,000 acres each	276,000,000
Owned by small and middle farmers	231,000,000

We see, therefore, that only 23 per cent of the total land in farms (and this is usually the poorest land) is owned by those who toil on it, although those who toil on the land represent the vast majority of the 6,400,000 "farmers" listed as such by the census. The day is past when the bourgeois press can frighten the majority of the farmers by telling them that the "Reds" will "take away" their farms.

By the same token, the day is here when we Communists must take full advantage of the success of Socialist farming in the Soviet Union, and the benefit to the majority of American farmers which will come with revolution, by wiping out at one blow—cancellation of mortgages and debts—the farmers' most terrible burden, by the establishment of large numbers of State farms (chiefly on the acres now held by big landowners) with no forcible dispossession of small holders (in the feudal South even a restoring of land to the landless and land-hungry croppers and tenants through confiscation), rapid, although not forcible, collectivization, and real benefit to the toiling farmers in the matter of produce exchange by a regulated market with prices that will give farmers more than at present

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while at the same time reducing the cost of farm produce to the city workers.

But we are running ahead of ourselves, and must return to present conditions. Now, then, considering the deep and growing distress of the mass of the farm population, what is the meaning of the cessation of the movement of farm population to the cities, and the reverse population movement from city to farm since 1929?

The apologists for capitalism can and do point to the increase in farm population as "proof" that life on the farm is one of "wondrous contentment" and is "improving" in every way. This is a shameless lie. Both in technique and socially, farming and farm life is deteriorating and retrograding toward feudalism—and at times approximating feudalism. We Communists cannot simply say, "It's the crisis," and go no deeper into the social effects of all this "back to the land" movement.

YOUTH AND WAGE LABOR

"The boys and girls who left the farm in such high hopes," says the miserable apologist Ostrolenk (New York *Times*, Sept. 11, 1932), "are returning disillusioned about the city, but eager to work out their destinies on the farm." But as Ostrolenk admits (though he tries to see the "bright side" by pointing to the advantage to the employing farmer), "Farm wages have dropped to unbelievably low levels." And the Department of Agriculture asserts that "farm labor may be obtained in some places with little or no payment other than subsistence."

This being so, we can see what a dismal "destiny" faces the youth returning to the family farm. We should not only see this, but do something about it, by so earnestly working to establish the Young Communist League among this farm youth that fascism will fail in its efforts to win them for counter-revolution. We can be sure that fascism will become, and even now is, busy among them.

Moreover, the appalling negligence of our Party and the Trade Union Unity League toward the agricultural wage workers must be swiftly corrected or we will find these workers taken under the leadership of fascists and social fascists.

In California where there are 400,000 farm wage workers (and agriculture and marine transport are the "concentration" points) it is inexcusable that the Imperial Valley strike has left no trace behind (but some San Quentin prisoners); that the wonderful San Jose strike of fruit-packers (3,000 young American boys and girls), who stormed the jail and rescued their leaders, has left no union organization or anything else; and that the promising young trade union among the Filipinos at Stockton has been destroyed—not by

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the class enemy, but—we are told, by our Party bureaucrats who "commanded" these trade union workers to do this and that, in the manner as rank and file Party members are (but should not be) ordered.

As for the Colorado beet-workers' strike, what has become of that and the Agricultural Workers' Industrial League which was involved in it, is a deep and dark secret which our comrades on the ground do not reveal to the Party. Is this the best we can do? I think not.

Again referring to the "back to the land" movement, we must notice, and expose, the illusion being fostered by numerous bourgeois demagogs, among them, presidential candidate Roosevelt and the Macfadden publications. Roosevelt proposes that unemployed city workers be "placed" on farms.

ON A LIVESTOCK STANDARD

The Department of Agriculture admits that all this "garden plan" is "not a genuine back to the farm movement," but is "almost wholly an attempt to obtain low-cost housing (shacks—H. G.) and partial subsistence (slow instead of rapid starvation—H. G.). It is a means of reducing the cash cost of meeting the minimum(!) subsistence needs of persons for whom relief agencies are caring."

The farm population is, excluding these people, increasing. We learn that the miserable little farms clinging to the mountain-sides in Kentucky's "Hell for Sartin" Creek, totally abandoned in 1920, are once more filled with "hill folks" who no longer find life possible in the southern factory towns. But life is possible and "Hell" is "sartin" on such farms only at the most primitive technical and social levels.

Where today is the right opportunist theory that the "tremendous" spread of "mechanization" and the "colossal" growth of "large scale farming" in America was "depopulating the whole countryside," etc.? Naturally, if the small farmer was vanishing from the countryside, we should do nothing about organizing him as a revolutionary ally of the proletariat. This "theory" was developed by the Musteite (and ex-I.W.W.) writer, Justus Ebert, just two years ago. Ebert laughed scornfully at the Soviet success in "factory farms". "We have seen all that before, right here in America, and even more successfully done, tractors and all," said this "theoretician" whose basic line was that the technical basis for Socialism could be established completely under capitalism and by capitalism in agriculture. Hence, what need for a revolution?

This rank opportunist theory pervaded our own membership to no small degree and even affected some comrades in the inter-

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national movement whose special field was agriculture. With some related ideas, this was also the viewpoint of the Lovestone renegades, and likewise explains why the "Socialist" Party has virtually "no" agrarian policy (we must remember that "no" policy is a bourgeois policy). This theory was blood relative to the right opportunist theory in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the theory that Socialism would "develop" out of kulak production, and that consequently the class struggle in the village should be softened down.

DEVIATIONS DIE HARD

The E.C.C.I. upheld our Party in rejecting the theory of the "technical revolution", "tremendous mechanization" and "colossal" growth of large scale farming. But deviations die hard. Only recently a most active and valuable comrade who, as an expert on agrarian questions, personally visited all sections of the country, delving into farm life, submitted an analysis in which this "tremendous mechanization" theory was strongly brought to the fore, though tardily rejected as an after-thought in a somewhat shamefaced attempt to agree with the Party line without conviction of its basis in reality.

FROM SEMI-FEUDALISM TO FEUDALISM

In the Old South (the Southeast as distinguished from the Southwest) "the cropper system is on its death bed", was the idea adopted by this comrade, because cotton production is developing in the New South on the basis of large scale mechanized farms; the price decline also working to this end. Now a cropper is fundamentally a landless farmer, and obviously the "system" of cropper farming is not going to "die" without a vast change in land ownership. True, the *crop* may change. Indeed, from one of this comrade's reports a change from cotton to tobacco was shown, but also one of retrogression from semi-feudalism toward feudalism.

This is the reactionary character of what Ostrolenk (quoted at the beginning of this article) pictures as "progress" and "hope" resulting from "forced practices for diversification and self-sufficiency", the new slogan in the Old South and many other sections. Here, we must point out that our demand for the commercial cropper to have the right to a garden was and is a progressive demand, not alone because it is a demand around which the croppers will struggle, but because it releases them in a measure from the usurious extortions of the landowners; while the garden forced upon the cropper by the landlord has an entirely different meaning. The cropper is not released, but subjected more than ever to the will of the landowner, who—however—is largely freed from responsibility for

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providing the cropper with food. The cropper "has a garden" and is "self-sufficient". But also he has fallen from the semi-proletariat into virtual serfdom. As for his technical resources for production, they remain as a hoe and hand-labor with sometimes a borrowed mule.

The cropper system is not "on its death-bed", in spite of the fact that cotton production is moving from the Old South to Texas and Oklahoma, where mechanization on large scale farms is at present being tried out and a large part of the croppers are left jobless, landless and penniless. But if we follow cotton from Alabama to Texas, we see that there, on a higher level, there is class differentiation among even the mechanized growers. Not all units of capital engaged are equal. Here, too, the weaker and smaller will lose out. They will go into bankruptcy unless they force their workers to bear the "burden of the market," as is possible, in which case the cropper system will be re-established with some improvement as regards production technique.

We must not ignore, of course, the important fact that even in the crisis and because of it, mechanization and large scale farming—but of and for the kulak and the kulak only—will advance in some measure; although in comparatively small measure if we consider the purely abstract technical possibilities, the available inventions, etc.

The parallel facts, that the area of large scale farms in Kansas has been increasing, while also the total number of farms in Kansas has increased, shows that side by side with the mechanized large scale farms, are more farmers than before with smaller acreage trying to produce in competition, with poor machinery, deteriorating livestock and buildings, long hours, unpaid family labor and a lowered food and clothing standard.

AMERICA'S MODEL FARM "KAPUT"

Moreover, such a notion as "tremendous mechanization" is in violent conflict with the realities. What has become of the boasted "tractorized" 100,000 acre wheat farm of Mr. Campbell (the same Campbell consulted by the Soviet as an expert) out in Montana, with no land cost but a trivial sum paid the government for using Indian reservation land and a million dollars to play with, furnished by Morgan's bank? The answer is—Mr. Campbell's farm is bankrupt!

We do not want comrades to draw the conclusion from this example that mechanized large scale farming is impossible. On the other hand, we do not want the apostles of "technical revolution" and mechanized farming to quietly ignore this example, and go

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romping off to Corpus Christi, Texas, where they can find another example more pleasing to their theory.

Indeed, bourgeois apologists have given up the fight on this line, and are now trying to find something idyllic and satisfying to say about the vast army of tractors now rusting away unused because the farmers have no money for gasoline and repairs and are returning to horses. Ostrolenk, previously quoted, in his New York *Times* (Sept. 11, 1932) article entitled "On the Farm the Machine Age Recedes" blithely tells how the farmer has happily discovered that "while oats remained at 10 cents a bushel, the cost of horse power per acre is actually cheaper than gasoline power."

This, he says, "means the absorption of a considerable number of unemployed," and hence, "improved social conditions;" means "greater security and more freedom from the agonies and hazards of this commercial age" for the farmers. True, he has to admit that the return from tractors to horses means "longer hours of labor on the part of the farmer, but that has ceased to be a deterring factor." Lenin said the same thing, but he did not embellish longer hours of labor with any nonsense about "security" and "freedom".

Even bourgeois writers (the Cleveland, Ohio, *Press*) estimates that an area really sufficient to feed the nation, totally 100,000,000 acres, which once was farmed, has been turned back into the hands of the government by reason of failures and tax delinquencies.

Considering all these conditions, is it any wonder that the agrarian poor are beginning to rebel? Perhaps because of the parliamentary illusions in which the farmers have been steeped since the Civil War, a period that corresponded with the possibility of "free land" and the upward development of imperialist economy, the idea has become dominant that farmers are pacifists, who can be swindled forever with sweet words and from whom no rebellion against authority can be expected. It is high time that Communists, at least, should learn better, and realize that the agrarian masses are not only not immune from social forces, but are among the most explosive factors with which capitalism must contend.

BRAVE TRADITIONS

After the Revolutionary War for independence from England the farmers of that day were crushed by debts and mortgages and the "founding fathers" of this nation rashly tried to foreclose. The result was "Shay's Rebellion" in Massachusetts and New Hampshire, where armed rebellion closed the courts that were authorizing foreclosures at Worcester and Concord, and the arsenal at Springfield was attacked, the rebellion lasting for five months. Again, the "Whiskey Rebellion" of 1794 in Pennsylvania was a

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farmers' rebellion against federal taxation, not "prohibition". And it was not crushed until George Washington had put into the field an army almost twice as large as any that he commanded against the British. We should remind the farmers that they have brave traditions to uphold. In New York in 1840 there was an anti-feudal revolt. Later in Rhode Island farmers and workers united in what is known as Dorr's Rebellion, against the autocratic state constitution.

The impoverished farmers will fight. But for what demands and around which slogans? Around this question there has been a discussion which has been an obstacle rather than an aid to our Party. The program which our Party assisted the United Farmers' League to formulate was subjected to the most sharp criticism as "petty bourgeois reformism" and what not, and by comrades whose value and whose other contributions to our movement are unquestioned; and whose standing therefore weighted with authority the criticism mentioned.

FOR WHOM DO WE WRITE PROGRAMS?

The comrades were against the U.F.L. program. They were also against the U.F.L. and desired it liquidated. They insisted that all things be revamped to conform with the program for European peasants adopted by the All-European Peasants' Committee. We looked over the program, but are sure that few farmers would ever understand it.

Of course, it is politically "correct" to the last letter. The organizational form recommended therein of Committees of Action is the proper basic form for struggle, and we obscured it by calling them "Township Committees", but this and some other weaknesses arose because we did not conceive this program of the U.F.L. as applying to the whole country, but to the Middle West where township organization is natural as a form of the united front. If we had said "Village" Committees, our critics might have understood. But the Dakota farmers would not, and we wrote our program for them.

To reach beyond the narrow limits of the Party and to attain independent leadership of masses, as against the several existing organizations of reformist character—and the mid-west farmer is accustomed to organizations, our conception of the U.F.L. was that of a center stimulating and guiding not only Committees of Action, but Share Croppers' Unions, Tenants' Leagues, etc.

But we uphold organization and preparation against any thinly disguised reliance upon spontaneity. "What methods do the peasants themselves undertake without any advice from anybody? . . . They collect together quite spontaneously without previous consultation," says one comrade, apparently recommending this as an

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ideal situation. It may be actual, but it is not ideal. It is one thing to advocate Committees of Action as a basic organ of united front struggle. It is something else to oppose and call for the liquidation of any "very definite organization with members and membership dues."

The U. F. L. program was far from perfect. One mistake particularly, was the way local struggles as compared to wider struggles were discouraged by the formulation urging the expansion of struggles from local to general. Again, both to inculcate (as against the deadening tradition of reliance on parliament) the idea of mass participation in physical struggle, and to concretely explain methods by which it could be done, we inserted too much of formal and mechanical suggestions, too much red tape, and this was properly criticized—although the fact that we made them as *suggestions* was ignored.

THE QUESTION OF DEMANDS

But when it came to the question of demands, there was nothing that pleased our critical comrades. We had tried, imperfectly perhaps, to carry out the line of the Program of the Sixth C. I. Congress, which said:

> "In the sphere of the peasant problem, the partial demands are those appertaining to taxation, peasant mortgage indebtedness, struggle against usurers' capital, the land hunger of the peasant small holders, rent, the crop-sharing system. Starting out from these partial needs, the Communist Party must sharpen the respective slogans and broaden them out into the slogans' confiscation of large estates, and workers' and peasants' government."

We, in our program, spoke of "tax robbery"; said that, "Rents, like interest on debt, are pure robbery, legalized by a government that is ruled by a robber class, the capitalist class." And we also stated "as absolutely necessary the abolition of the present capitalist system, the establishment of the rule of workers and farmers." But, said our critics:

> "The platform puts forward such demands as the reduction of rent, interest and taxes, of a moratorium, etc. These petty-bourgeois reformist demands are demagogically advocated by all petty-bourgeois agrarian and social-fascist organizations for the purpose of fooling the poor farmers."

No doubt that the "petty bourgeois agrarian and social-fascist organizations" are all and worse than our critics say. But we hope that they do not put the Comintern in that same category, nor ourselves. Because we do not advocate them "demagogically", but as a ground for class war in the countryside.

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A moratorium is a traditional mass demand of American farmers in any crisis. We would be sectarians if we did not use this—and as we did, not to nourish parliamentary illusions, but to bring the farmers themselves into action in mass refusal to pay, and physical resistance to consequent foreclosure. Besides, we advocated cancellation of debts of impoverished farmers; just as also abolition of taxation against them. It was not quite honest of our critics to say that we demanded reductions "for *all* farmers" and thus "departed from the class point of view". We must also remind them that a fight "against unequal tax burdens", is not the same as a fight "for equal" taxation.

SOME NECESSARY DISTINCTIONS

To criticize is one thing. To misrepresent is another. And we cannot see why, when in speaking about the impoverishment of farmers due to interest on debts, our program said: "If they did not have to pay this billion dollar robbery, they *might be left in the clear*", we have our critics putting into our mouth the following: "If they did not have to pay that billion dollars to the robbers, they *could go on developing their farms*." Having thus set up a straw man, they abused it without mercy. Where our aim was to show the impoverished debt-ridden farmers that to save themselves from starvation they should enter into physical struggle against finance capital, something was put into our mouth that is the equivalent to the "Right" slogan—"Enrich yourselves!"

To which end does such criticism lead? To cripple our Party's first approach to the small and middle farmers on the basis of partial demands, demands they can understand in the language they can understand. We cannot, if we took such criticism seriously, ask them to fight for anything less than revolution.

CLARIFICATION HELD UP

The criticism had its effect. Programmatically and practically our advance halted. We failed to clarify our attitude toward the known demand of farmers for higher prices before the farmers' strike was upon us. (By the way, our critical comrades rejected our use of the term—"farmers' *strike*" as being "a peculiar farmer syndicalism" which all good Communists should regard as outlaw. Yet in spite of the reformist leaders' wish to call it a "holiday," and without us having a chance to christen this child as "farmer syndicalism," the farmers themselves insisted on calling it a "strike.")

We had long looked suspiciously upon the farmers' demand for higher prices as something likely to injure the working class; not without some reason, but circumstances differ. For example (although there is not space to go into the whole election program of

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all parties), Roosevelt's plan for a federal law enacting the "Domestic Allotment Plan" into law, thereby greatly raising the food prices paid by workers, offers the promise of higher prices to the farmers. Actually, finance capital and the rich farmers would be the only ones benefited, and the small and middle farmer would gain nothing, even be hurt; and the workers would certainly be deeply injured, unless they struck on a large scale for higher wages. Parliamentary illusions among the farmers would for a time be strengthened.

But if, in a dozen states the small and middle farmers go on the picket line, find their kulak neighbor scabbing and crack his skull, engage in battle with the forces of the capitalist state that comes to the kulak's aid, discover their reformist leaders' treachery, and—above all—find city workers and especially Communists aiding actively and advising them wisely; then even if the marketing monopolies raise prices to the city workers in some measure, the working class will be not hurt but helped, ripened and reinforced by allies in the struggle for power.

WE ARE NOT SYNDICALISTS

This, in case the farmers win a higher price from the monopolies for their produce—and they will never win anything without such a struggle. If the farmers struggle, but lose, still the workers as a class will have made an advance, won the necessary allies without which their own struggle for power cannot be won. We Communists are not syndicalists nor "economists" (referring to the term used by Lenin against certain Russian theorists), and must remember that the fundamental struggle is a struggle for power.

Of course we must disillusion the farmers of any idea that such a victory settles all their problems. We must show him that the money he gets by higher prices he must at once turn over to the mortgage holder or tax collector—unless he also enters into a struggle against them. Also that his victory will be only on paper if the marketing monopoly raises the price of food to the city workers, with or without his agreement; because consumption will be so reduced that the total income he will get may be less at the higher price than at the former lower price, because he will not be able to sell as much as before. We must show him that he cannot be indifferent to the prices paid by the workers, as the Stanley, North Dakota *Sun* (a farmers' paper) was when it said: "Let the chips fall where they may!" But, in spite of all this, we must help win his strike for higher prices, teaching him in the struggle.

With this in mind, how did the farmers' strike find us? Unclarified and unprepared. We had well known that the farmers

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were agitated in every fiber against the marketing monopolies and were blind with rage against ruinous prices. But our critics of partial demands had partially paralyzed us. We felt sorry about the "poor farmers" (we should abruptly stop using this term when we mean "small" farmers, farmers with small capital), but we could offer them virtually nothing but to wait till after the revolution, when we promised to regulate prices fairly.

ERRORS, BOTH RIGHT AND "LEFT"

Thus it happened that the comrade who was editing the U.F.L. paper, the *Producers' News*, came out against the strike for "dollar wheat" on the ground that it was "against the working class". Though the difference in the price of bread between the time when there was "two dollar wheat" and when it was thirty cents, is hardly perceptible. But this mistake was not this comrade's alone.

In the Dakotas, where the U.F.L. has a fair toehold, the comrades did support the strike. But how? While the Iowa farmers, whose chief battle raged around the price of milk, were nonetheless stopping everything, cattle, grain and produce, our Dakota comrades issued a leaflet *for* the strike, but saying: "Hold your grain, cattle, hogs, etc., but sell your cream, eggs, fruit and vegetables—perishables," because "the poor farmer needs the returns on these to provide daily necessities and carry on his farming operations; the waste of which would only result in a benefit to the rich farmers."

Which is equivalent to telling a factory striker that, because he needs a little cash, it will be all right for him to work a couple of days a week in a struck factory. Or to say to the Iowa strikers: "We in Dakota, where the main crop is grain, sympathize with you and will only scab a little, as we haven't much dairy products, anyhow." This line was plainly a yielding to the narrow opportunist tendency (self defeating, clearly, as the Iowa farmers could give a like reason for selling their grain and hogs when the Dakota farmers were holding theirs) of these Dakota farmers.

But when we asked the Dakota comrades how they got that way, the explanation revealed another failing. They said: "Locally in North Dakota, the few kulaks (note the "few"—H. G.) succeeded in getting the creameries to concede them a raise in prices. The little fellows who sell their 12 gallon can of cream said: 'Well, if there is a *general* farmers' strike, we will be holding the bag, while the rich farmers who have contracts will be selling high'." What was the matter with this? The matter was that our comrades had forgotten that their business is precisely to carry class war to the countryside, and that the rich farmer with his contract and his

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many gallons of cream could be whipped by a militant picket line of "little fellows".

NEVER FORGET THE KULAKS!

The Dakota comrades forgot about fighting the kulak. And why was this? Because for two years they have been resisting our criticism that they did not see the class differentiation in the Dakotas. They insisted that "*Every* farmer is a poor farmer." And they only discover a "few kulaks" in order to find an excuse for not fighting them!

We do not wish to belittle the vast amount of good work done by our comrades in the Dakotas. They have done wonderful agitation—but little else. They tell us of considerable organization, but it isn't visible in action. From reports of Party comrades we gather that organization is built up only to be destroyed by a combination of bureaucracy and giving the organized mass nothing to do but listen to speeches. Good speeches, no doubt, but somehow we have yet to hear of struggles. The struggle is monopolized by the leadership, which complains bitterly and truly of being overworked, but no mass action. Unless we except the question of relief, and in this the main effort was diverted from struggle against the rich and the state, to a worthy but non-struggle task of exchanging North Dakota coal for South Dakota potatoes. We must insist that Communists bear class struggle, not "self-help", to the countryside.

The impoverished farmers are on the march. We cannot order them to retreat, even if we desired. We cannot *command* them to forget about prices and fight about something else. We must lead them, or fascism will—and against us. We can lead them only by fighting with them and for them. We must teach them—rid them of what Lenin spoke of as characteristic of "an outburst of mass struggles," namely, "their prejudices, reactionary fantasies, weaknesses and errors."

If we do all this, then we will have won a tremendous ally. Our Iron battalions of the proletariat will be backed by inexhaustible reserves coming up from every valley and mountainside. And then—can anyone say that victory will not soon perch upon our banners?

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Tactics of the United Front

Leading article in the July 15th issue of THE BOLSHEVIK.

THE masses of workers in the capitalist countries are being irresistably drawn together into a united struggle against the onslaught of capital, against fascism, and against the bourgeois reaction which mobilizes all its forces for a capitalist way out of the crisis. Social democracy is trying to intercept this tendency on the part of the working masses and to direct it into the path of parliamentary cretinism (idiocy), and away from the revolutionary class struggle and from Communism. The Communist Parties are confronted at present with the difficult tasks of winning the basic masses of workers away from the social democracy and of preparing the offensive of the proletariat in its struggle for power through the realization of the united front against the onslaught of capitalism and against the bourgeois reaction. Consequently, the question of applying the correct tactic of the united front is, under the present conditions, the main task confronting the Communist movement throughout the world. For the Communist Parties to ignore the united front would mean to refuse to utilize objectively favorable circumstances. It would mean a serious loss of tempo and a political deviation.

The united front movement, just like the whole revolutionary upsurge, is developing unevenly. The Eleventh Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International pointed out a year ago that the extreme increase of the unevenness of the revolutionary upsurge is a characteristic feature of the present stage of development of the class struggle. At that time the Comintern called the attention of the world Communist vanguard to the fact that: "the further sharpening of the capitalist contradictions occasioned by the economic crisis and particularly apparent in capitalism's weakest links; the growing dissatisfaction of the broad masses of the population; the growth of Communism and of the world-wide prestige of the land of the proletarian dictatorship, all these are causing the bourgeoisie to bring into play more and more openly its dictatorship of oppression, and are, on the other hand, increasing the revolutionary upsurge and the premises of a pre-revolutionary crisis in a number of countries."

This dual process is particularly apparent in countries where the crisis is deepest and the relations of classes particularly acute. In Germany, for instance, the growth of the pre-revolutionary crisis

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is proceeding side by side with an intensive growth of fascism. At the same time, as the revolutionary situation reaches new and higher planes confronting the world Communist Parties with new and more complicated tasks, the ruling class sharpens its resistance to the struggle of the proletariat for a revolutionary way out of the crisis, and the treacherous maneuvers of social democracy begin to increase. Since the Communist Parties are not yet able immediately to crush the resistance of the bourgeoisie and to expose the maneuvers of social democracy, this dual process becomes an additional objective difficulty for the revolutionary Communist vanguard.

The social democracy and its renegade hangers-on are endeavoring to show this complication of tasks of revolutionary development as a new period of decline of the working class movement and as a defeat of the workers which forces them into a strictly defensive attitude. This is the very angle under which the right renegades and the Trotskyists are endeavoring to saddle the working masses with their counter-revolutionary defeatist theory of a united front, which they understand as a hegemony of social democracy and as a capitulation of the Communist vanguard before social fascism. This very understanding of the united front prompted Mr. Trotsky to a "left" criticism of the tactics of the Comintern in the English-Russian Committee during the height of the partial stabilization of capitalism. This very defeatist attitude before social democracy prompted him to a brotherly embrace of the bloody Noske in the name of his struggle against the bloody Hitler. It is, therefore, not without reason that both the right and the "left" renegades are dancing to the tune of social democracy in their attempt to sidetrack the united front movement from its broad line of struggle against the bourgeoisie and for a revolutionary way out of the crisis, to the narrow and sectarian struggle against the fascism of Hitler only.

The united front is not only the defensive, but also the offensive of the working class. Taking into consideration the further development of the revolutionary upsurge and its uneven rate of development, *the task of the united front under these conditions is to achieve a higher degree of activizing of the working masses for higher revolutionary aims.* This created the tactics of "class against class" during the transition from the second to the third period of development of the proletarian revolution after the world war. At that time the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, in discussing the new forms of tactics of the united front in connection with the growth of class struggles, strongly emphasized the fact that the sharpening of the struggle against social democracy,

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while changing the form, does not however change the substance of the tactics of the united front.

> "The sharpening of the struggle against social democracy transfers the center of gravity decisively to a united front from below. This however does not remove, but on the contrary, emphasizes the duty of the Communists to differentiate between the misled social democratic workers and the corrupt social democratic leadership, which is consciously kow-towing to the imperialists. At the same time, the slogan of struggle for the masses (whether they are still following the leadership of the bourgeois parties and social democracy, or whether they find themselves under the influence of the Communist Parties) does not lose in importance, but on the contrary, it must become the main task of the Communist International." (Political Thesis of the Sixth Congress of the Comintern.)

This premise, which was correct at the beginning of the third period, assumes a particular significance at the present time amid conditions of extreme tenseness of all capitalist contradictions. The utilization of these contradictions presupposes the realization of the united front of the working masses for revolutionary struggle. "The tactic of the united front was and is a method of *revolution* and not of peaceful *evolution*." (Thesis of the Fifth Congress of the Comintern.)

The united front is not altogether a weapon of the offensive nor altogether a weapon of the defensive of the working class. But "the Communist Party is duty-bound to transform every struggle into an attack upon capitalist society." Whoever denies the principle of offensive against capitalist society "is retreating from Communism." Therefore, only the exact knowledge of correlations of the objective and of the subjective factors of a given stage; only a strict analysis of the development of the capitalist crisis; only an exact knowledge of the revolutionary upsurge of the proletariat of a given country, or even within a section of the proletariat of a given capitalist country, may indicate to the Communist Parties the concrete methods of approach to the social democratic workers, and may indicate the concrete methods of exposure of the social democratic leaders as well as the application of the proper tactics for the united front from below.

* * *

What are the concrete methods of approach to the social democratic workers?

As the crisis develops further and further, destroying in its wake the economic basis of social democracy even in the upper strata of the working class, the ground begins to be shaky under social democracy, from which not only the economically insecure proletarian masses (heretofore lured to it by the iedology of the aristocracy

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of labor) begin to tear themselves away, but even some of the old cadres. This process cannot be stopped by the developing of "left" social democratic groups which are endeavoring to rig up a "second and a half" international, nor by right or "left" renegade groups which form an organic part of international social fascism.

At the recent congress of the Social Democratic Party of Holland the representatives of the Opposition, subsequently removed from the party, have justified their "sharp" criticism of the social democratic leaders with the statement that unless they had done so, the workers, who were members of the Social Democratic Party, would begin to desert enmasse to the Communists. Therefore, the sharp rise of "left" demagogy on the part of social democracy, a demagogy which is growing by leaps and bounds.

The social democracy, together with the renegade groups of Brandlerites and Trotskyists, who up until recently have been denying the fact of the crisis, are now prating about a "new era" of state capitalism, as of a higher form of ruling, as of a "transitional step" to Socialism, considering the shameless robbery of millions of taxpayers in the interests of "reviving" the bankrupt capitalist banks as a new era.

The largest social democratic parties of Europe are now demanding control over the "most important branches of industry" (under capitalist conditions of course!). The Alliance of the German Trade Unions (reformist organization) advanced this demand in its much heralded "program of salvation"—salvation of capitalism from the crisis, of course! The Central Committee of the P.P.S. (Socialist Party of Poland), that tried and true anti-Soviet tool of imperialism, has now accepted a program of "speedy alleviation of the crisis." This program includes not only "control over production," but "monopoly of foreign trade" as well, this monopoly being entrusted to the old and tried "Socialist," Pilsudsky.

Social democracy, which has treated the unemployed with contempt as an army of declassed *lumpen* proletariat; which has consistently refused the unemployed the privilege of trade union membership; which has cultivated in the minds of the labor aristocracy of the trade unions the greatest contempt for the unorganized and unskilled worker on the one hand, and for the unemployed worker on the other hand; this same social democracy is now endeavoring to put a brake on the indignation of the unemployed even at the price of creating for them special trade unions.

Such organizations are now being created in Germany and in England; and no wonder! The revolutionary movement among the unemployed in England was at the end of 1931 the largest

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working class movement of that country since the heroic struggle of the miners in 1926. In Germany the revolutionary movement of the unemployed under the leadership and guidance of the Communist Party is being revived. But at the same time, hundreds of thousands of unemployed who are in revolt against the capitalist regime which brought them to the level of physical and moral deterioration, but who are not yet at the level of conscious revolutionary class struggle, have joined the fascist storm troops of Hitler. This step on the part of these unemployed is only a temporary halt in their travel on the path towards true revolutionary struggle against the capitalist system.

The Socialist Party of France, the recent "victor" in the parliamentary elections, together with the bourgeois radicals, has consciously put itself into a position which excludes its direct participation in the government, in order not to compromise itself among the working masses. And finally, the whole Second International is compelled to hide its active role in the war preparations against the Soviet Union under the cloak of provocative resolutions of the so-called "defense" of the U.S.S.R.

But in no sphere has the lying and treacherous demagogy of the social democrats reached the proportions which they have in the question of the united front of the proletariat. Emil Vandervelde, the old attorney of the Second International, during a recent meeting of the International Red Aid at Brussels, spoke (with his usual clown-like pathos) of that happy moment when the workers-Communists and the workers-Social Democrats will be fighting side by side on the same barricade. At the height of the elections to the Prussian Landtag, the central organ of the Austrian Social Democratic Party, the *Arbeiter Zeitung* appealed: "The Communists do not wish to understand that only the union of all the proletarian forces will be in a position to beat back the impending catastrophe of the fascist dictatorship. In the face of this enemy all contradictions must be swept aside. . . . At this moment of danger there must be no struggle of orientations within the working class. . . ."

In this manner social democracy, which has in the interest of the bourgeoisie split the working class movement by pitting the upper strata of the labor aristocracy against the broad proletarian masses, is now trying to split the working masses again, and, again in the interest of the bourgeoisie, prevent them from uniting under the standard of the Communist Party and of the united front.

> "In the epoch of imperialism the bourgeoisie has succeeded in splitting the working class movement by using a part of their super profits to bribe and demoralize the labor aristocracy, which was used as a means of furthering the bourgeois influence in the midst of the workers. This upper stratum of the working class became the

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> basis of the bourgeois political parties of workers (Second International). The bourgeois parties of workers (Second International) being the basic means of promoting the bourgeois influence on the working class and the main factor for splitting the movement of the workers, are thus becoming the social mainstay and support of the bourgeoisie." (Lenin.)

"The Communist Parties are the only working class parties expressing the totality of the common interests of the working class. They are the only *standard bearers of the process of uniting the proletariat on the basis of struggle for its interests.*" (Third Congress of the Comintern.) They must apply such methods of the united front as will clear the road for the Communist vanguard into the very center of the social democratic workers and members of reformist trade unions. They must expose before the rank and file of social democratic workers the treacherous role of their leaders and they must at the same time guard against the possibility of an opportunist perversion of the tactics of the united front which would inevitably lead to the hegemony of social democracy and consequently to the defeat of the working class. *There must be no sectarianism and no defeatism in the tactics of the united front!*

Social democracy finds itself at the present time in a defensive position. It endeavors to utilize the weapon of the united front in order to get the leadership into its own hands and thereby launch an attack against Communism. When this proves unsuccessful, social democracy immediately discards the slogan of the united front and calls openly for the direct destruction of the Communist Party. This process is particularly apparent in the case of Germany where social democracy (whose tactic of the "lesser evil" has paved the way to the victories of Hitler and for the fascist activities of Von Papen), is now, under the pressure of the masses, feverishly grasping the slogan of the united front. But when social democracy becomes convinced that it will not be able to utilize this slogan for its parliamentary aims, and that it cannot compel the Communist Party to trail behind, and when it is forced to see that the united front is a true weapon of the revolutionary struggle against the onslaught of capitalism and fascism, then social democracy will just as feverishly and rudely discard the tactic as they seized it.

The example of the united front in Germany has a great international significance because here the class relations are particularly tense in view of the specific peculiarities of the German crisis, which peculiarities have been created by the Versailles Treaty. Germany has a Social Democratic Party which is very strong politically and theoretically, and which tries to sidetrack the growing movement of a united front of the masses onto a parliamentary road. Aside from social democracy there is in Germany another subjective fac-

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tor—National-Socialism—which endeavors to split the working class movement by means of nationalist demagogy in addition to social demagogy ("only Versailles is guilty of the misery of the German proletariat"). There is finally in Germany a strong Communist Party with a tradition of struggle against social democracy and against the right and "left" opportunism in its own ranks. A new situation was recently created in Germany with the coming of Von Papen to the helm of the government. Germany has entered on the road to a fascist dictatorship. Here we see attempts of the social democratic leadership to utilize the movement of the workers towards a united front against fascism, for an attack against the Communist Party. We must also note on the other hand the great movement of social democratic workers for a struggle against fascism and against the onslaught of capitalism. In connection with the above all solutions of problems connected with the united front must be based on consideration of the new conditions. In connection with this we are confronted with the danger of underestimation of the united front and with a defeatist and opportunist approach to it.

What are the aims of the social fascists?

In the first place the social democrats are attempting to direct the united front movement only against the terror of the National-Socialists (in words, but not in deeds); at the same time they are supporting all the capitalist measures for "fighting" the crisis and in reality they do not carry on any struggle against the National-Socialist terror, as for instance in Hamburg.

In order for the social democracy to carry on a successful election campaign for the Reichstag, it must have a peaceful rear within the working class. That is why there was such a sharp reaction against the appeal of the Communist Party directed to the social democratic workers and to members of reformist trade unions for a united front.

The basic lines of the social democratic maneuvering on the question of the united front were clearly expressed by the editor of the *Vorwaerts*, Stampfer, one of the most reactionary figures in the ranks of the German social democracy, on the pages of the social democratic *Hamburger Echo*, and by Kunstler at the second meeting of the workers of the German General Electric Company. In his leading article Stampfer states: "the social democracy has achieved two defensive victories this year." These victories, in the opinion of Stampfer and of the social democracy at large, are the election of Hindenburg ("well, after all, Hitler was not elected") and the results of the elections to the Prussian Landtag ("well, after all, the National-Socialists did not receive an absolute majority"). To these two "victories," which the social democracy has . . . suf-

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fered, Stampfer dreamed of adding a third one—the parliamentary elections. But for that purpose Stampfer needed a discussion on the united front. To him the united front of class struggle is no more than Communistic clay in which he is afraid to sink, that is, to lose the social democratic workers. That's why Stampfer imposed conditions bordering on an ultimatum, as premises for a united front. Here are the conditions:

(a) There will have to be a "civil peace" between the Communists and the social democrats during the period of the election campaign. The Communists are to stop "cursing" the social democrats (somehow the Stampfers, as well as Messrs. Trotsky and Brandler, do not relish the names of social fascists, traitors and renegades, which stick to them quite thoroughly).

(b) The Communists are to discontinue their attacks against the social democrats in parliament (in the language of Stampfer this means that the Communists are to discontinue attacks in common with the National-Socialists).

(c) The united front is to be understood as an understanding between the Central Committees of two parties.

The speech of Kunstler at the meeting of the workers was along the same lines. "Are the leaders of the Communist Party ready," he inquired with pathos, "to enter into a civil peace for the duration of the election campaign, *i.e.*, until the 31st of July, in order to fight against fascism, that mortal enemy of the working class?" The Alliance of the German Trade Unions (reformist organization) spoke in the same vein, only more openly, in its appeal for a united front. "As long as the Communists do not think of a civil peace for the duration of the election campaign, there can be no talk of a united front," and further, "We are the united front, the Alliance of Trade Unions of Germany. As far as possible, the idea of a united front was carried out in our ranks."

Thus, the united front becomes, in the minds of social democrats and trade union bureaucrats, merely the Social Democratic Party and the reformist trade unions. The aims of the united front are to give the social democrats a free hand during the parliamentary elections, at the time when social democracy will be held accountable for their preparation of fascism in Germany, for the extraordinary decrees of the Bruening government, for the tactic of the "lesser evil," for the frightful misery of the unemployed, for Hindenburg, and for the unbearable terror of the National-Socialists. The social democrats and their renegade lackeys, who constantly yelp of the united front being a Communist maneuver, quite openly admit their own maneuvering to deceive the German working class, to save German capitalism and their own skins. The evening social demo-

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cratic paper, *Abend*, declares that there is no other united front except the "iron front" of the social democracy. "Let the Communists help us get into the parliament," seems to be the theme song of the whole social democratic propaganda in reply to the slogan of united front of the broadest working masses from below. In this respect it is interesting to note some of the resolutions adopted at meetings where the majority was social democratic. "In order not to lose a single working class vote in the forthcoming elections to the Reichstag, this meeting goes on record as recommending the union of lists, as it is practiced among the bourgeois parties." The above is a resolution accepted at a meeting of the cable works of the A.E.G., where the social democrats were in the majority.

The united front, in the minds of the social democrats, is a block of two parties, with the hegemony being in the hands of the social democrats. If, however, this does not succeed and the treacherous left maneuver of the reformists is being exposed before the masses, then the Central Committee of the Social Democratic Party comes out forbidding its organizations and the members of these organizations any and all actions in common with the Communists on the ground that the united front of the Communists is an "anti-social democratic" front.

"From these statements of the Central Committee of the Communist Part of Germany, the Communist leaders and the Communist press, it becomes apparent that the so-called anti-fascist action of these circles is in reality nothing but an anti-Social Democratic action. They declare quite specifically that there is no united front with the social democratic leadership. Every politically conscious person knows that satisfactory negotiations can be conducted only by and between the central guiding bodies. Local negotiations tend to create confusion in place of unity. Consequently they must be avoided by all means."

This document entirely betrays the social fascist leaders. They feel very keenly the resentment which was created amid the social democratic masses by their treacherous politics. They feel the ground slipping from under their feet. In Germany as in no other country was the feverish vacillation of the social democratic leadership more apparent: from grasping the slogan of the united front on the one hand to taking the open initiative in attempting to drive the Communist Party underground. And in Germany as in no other country have these vacillations reflected at all times the pressure of the masses. There is one truth in the statement of the Central Committee of the German Social Democratic Party. To the extent that the united front as proposed by the Communist Party is the united front for the class struggle of the proletariat directed against the

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capitalist way out of the crisis, to that extent does it mean the death knell of social democracy as a mass organization, as a capitalist agency in the ranks of the working class, and to the same extent is the united front of the Communist Party, the only and true class front of the proletariat, anti-social democratic.

That is why it is particularly important under the present conditions for the Communist vanguard to take a definite stand on the matter of principle.

In the first place, the united front is not something abstract and apart from the revolutionary work of the Communist Party. It is an organic part of the mass work of the Communist Party and of the revolutionary trade union movement. The trend toward the united front is powerful but the united front will not come of itself; it must be organized primarily on the basis of the daily struggles of the proletariat. "Every demand of the masses must be taken as a typical point of revolutionary action which will gradually merge into the mighty stream of socialist revolution." (Third Congress of the Comintern.)

Secondly, the united front is not a maneuver of the Communist Party. It is the task of the Communist vanguard to instill into the consciousness of the broad proletarian masses this basic premise of the tactics of the united front. By means of the united front the Communist vanguard of Germany wishes to bring the decisive strata of the proletariat into the struggle against the fascism of Hitler and against the fascist policies of the government of Von Papen which has in fact the support of the social democracy.

Thirdly, the methods of agitation and propaganda must be adapted to the degree of ripeness of the class-consciousness of the social democratic workers without either over or underestimating it. It must be borne in mind that social democratic traditions and parliamentary illusions are still very strong in the ranks of the Social Democratic Party and of the reformist trade unions; that it is easier to call a social democratic worker to an open attack on fascism or on the capitalist onslaught (even if his party does not participate in this attack) than against the Social Democratic Party proper or its leaders. It is necessary to raise the class consciousness of the social democratic worker and of the member of reformist trade unions by concretely showing them step by step that only the Communist Party is actually struggling both for the daily and for the general demands of the workers, and that it is the true leader of the working masses in their daily and general struggles. This presupposes not the weakening but the strengthening of the criticism of social democracy and its relation to the tactic of the united front. This does not mean to forget the past as certain opportunist elements in the ranks of the Communist Party think, but on the contrary, it means

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a more systematic and a more persistent explanation to the workers of the whole treacherous role of social democracy. It means strengthening the emphasis of the fact that the Communist Party is the only party capable of achieving the class unity of the proletariat.

The task of the united front is being rendered particularly difficult by the preaching of certain individual comrades who are ready to sacrifice the leadership to the social democracy for the sake of unity, because in their opinion "it is not important which party leads the struggle."

> "The basic premises and tenets of the Communist Party are forming that ground on which the working masses may again achieve their unity, because they express all the requirements of the proletarian struggle. Therefore at present all the Social Democratic Parties and tendencies are a factor for splitting up the proletariat as much as possible while the Communist Parties are its unifying factor." (Thesis on Tactics adopted by the Third Congress of the Comintern.)

Fourth, certain comrades are under the impression that with the growth of fascism in Germany social democracy ceases to be the main social support of the bourgeoisie. In the interests of the realization of the united front it is necessary for the Communist Party to defeat these opportunist tendencies because social democracy—and that is its basic historic mission—was, is, and will remain the chief weapon in the hands of the bourgeoisie for the splitting up of the working class and therefore it is the chief social support of the bourgeoisie. It is not correct, as a certain comrade wrote in the organ og the Austrian Communist Party (*Communist*, No. 34), to depict the social democrats and the National-Socialists as two equal supports of the bourgeoisie. Such a tendency weakens the struggle against social democracy particularly in a country like Austria.

Fifth, from the above comes the necessity of a determined struggle against all attempts to transform the united front into a bloc with social democracy. Such a bloc ("civil peace") denotes in practice a breathing spell for social democracy and a strengthening of the prestige of the social fascist leaders among the masses; in reality it removes the proletariat from the revolutionary united front.

Lastly, the error in the application of a united front in Germany until the present, consisted in the fact that it was directed mainly along lines of struggle against the fascism of Hiter and least of all along the lines of a direct repulsion of the attack against the working class by capitalism and by the government of Von Papen. The Communists must not relinquish their struggle against the National-Socialism of Hitler, they must utilize the hatred of the broad masses (including the social democratic masses) against the fascist terror; they must organize and lead this struggle. At the same time they

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must combine it with the struggle against the general capitalist attack. And this means that the struggle must be linked up with a more vigorous exposure of the whole treacherous role of social democracy.

The Communists must realize and apply the method of comradely approach to a social democratic worker and to a member of the reformist trade unions, the method of convincing and not commanding, the method of guiding with a consequent realization of the tactic of the united front from below; they must have a clearly defined position with respect to social democracy, and an uncompromising attitude toward all opportunist attempts to reduce the task of struggle against social democracy as the main premise of winning over their class. An example of the above can be found in the recent strike of 23,000 miners in Bruks (Czecho-Slovakia) where ten Communists were directing a strike committee of fifty, due to the proper application of the tactic of the united front.

> "Wherein does the revolutionary tactic differ from the reformist tactic? Some people think that Leninism is against reforms, against compromise and against agreements in general. This is not true. The Bolsheviks know, no less than anybody else, that under certain conditions, reforms in general and agreements in particular are necessary and useful.
>
> "It is consequently not a question of reforms, compromises and agreements, but of the use to which people put these reforms and agreements." (Stalin, *The Questions of Leninism.*)

The test of this use is primarily in the question of leadership. It is for instance a very dangerous situation, such as happened in the giant chemical works of Lein in middle Germany, where the revolutionary fraction of the factory committee subordinated itself to the reformist members of the committee in the interests of some "higher" united front, and the Party organ of middle Germany, the *Klassenkampf*, stated that it is immaterial who will lead the united front movement as long as the movement will be there. This means to put the Social Democratic Party as the other party of the working class alongside of the Communist Party. This means to instill into the working masses the illusion that the social democratic leadership will struggle against the bourgeoisie and against the attacks of capitalism. This means to forget that the highest moment of the united front is when the social democratic masses will turn against their leaders. In its further development such a tactic will inevitably lead to the politics of a bloc.

To this the Communist vanguard can have and will give only one answer:

"Neither sectarianism nor capitulation in the tactic of the united front!"

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For a Strict Leninist Analysis on the Negro Question

By B. D. AMIS

(The American Negro, *which this article reviews, was published six months ago. Since then a new edition of the pamphlet has been published, in which Comrade Allen has corrected the unclear or incorrect formulations dealt with in this article. A new pamphlet by Comrade Allen,* Negro Liberation, *which has just been published, takes up in detail the question of self-determination for the Black Belt and equal rights for Negroes.*—EDITOR.)

* * *

THE AMERICAN NEGRO, by J. S. Allen, a pamphlet dealing with the Negro question in the U. S. A., contains some very excellent factual material. This material exposes the present position of the 12,000,000 Negroes in this country in a glaring manner. It gives the economic and the political status of the oppressed nation which is the social outcast of "American Nordic Society".

The base for the terrific exploitation and oppression of the Negro masses is a social and economic one. Over 9,000,000 Negroes live in the South, and the majority of this number inhabit the Black Belt. The Black Belt is a continuous stretch of territory which (according to the author) runs through eleven states. In this territory the Negroes are the majority of the population and are mainly tenant farmers and peons. They are deprived of their elemental democratic rights, all power resting in the hands of the white ruling class minority. Repressive measures of slavery days are employed to keep the Negro masses in subjection to strengthen the economic and political position of the white ruling class.

The Negro worker in the North is shown as an integral part of the working class in practically all of the basic industries. Unemployment has hit this worker hardest during the present economic crisis.

Discrimination and Jim-Crowism are widespread. The American Federation of Labor is an outstanding example of carrying through this policy. An interesting section is devoted to the Jim-Crow practices in the army which have been carried to the extent of disarming and disbanding several Negro regiments.

Statistical data is given on lynchings and legal frame-ups covering a period of years and is quite inclusive, giving the economic and social cause for this American pastime.

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The pamphlet exposes the misleaders of the labor movement and those among the Negro masses who are great hindrances to the revolutionizing of the struggle for Negro rights. It is pointed out that class solidarity, a fighting alliance of black and white workers in the struggle, is of utmost importance to the building up of the national liberation movement, as part and parcel of the struggle of the working class to overthrow capitalism.

The accompanying map of the Black Belt strikingly shows the old slave South, in which territory the national oppression of the Negro, remnants of slavery, takes its most acute form. Here the plantation system and all its accompanying evils (peonage, share cropping, debt slavery, etc.) persists up to the present day in all their most brutal forms. Here is where the national oppression against the Negro nation is sharpest. It shows where basic organizational work must be carried on to win the Negroes to struggle, together with other workers, in the liberation movement and for emancipation.

The material arms one with undeniable facts which substantiate the Communist program of liberation. These basic facts are useful for agitators and provide a firm foundation for our theoretical line.

After pointing out the enslavement of the Negro masses, their super-exploitation and terrific persecution, the Communist program of struggle for Negro rights and complete emancipation is given.

However, in dealing with this all-important and complicated national question in the United States, formulations are made which reveal unclarity and in their sum total, amount to a concession to bourgeois liberalism. These inexact formulations are a distortion of Leninist theory on the national question. Chief among these errors are the following:

1. That the Negroes suffer from a "*special caste system and brutal persecution based on the color line*".

2. That "the right of self-determination is *a part of* the general struggle for Negro rights". (My emphasis—B. D. A.)

3. That self-determination means the right for the Negroes "to rule *themselves* within their own state boundaries". (My emphasis—B. D. A.)

The first formulation conveys the impression that Jim-Crowism and national oppression of the Negroes has its origin in the differences between races, and as such rejects the Leninist conception of the Negro question as a *national question*. It is clearly a concession to the current bourgeois racial theories.

In order to justify the ruthless oppression of the Negro masses, the white bourgeois ideologists build up false race theories. These are designed to prove the inherent inferiority of the Negro peoples.

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In these theories racial differences, that is differences in the color of skin, texture of hair, etc., between the Negro and white peoples—purely physical and extra-historical factors—become an explanation and justification of national oppression.

The real economic and social essence of the Negro question in the United States consists not in racial differences, but in the difference between economic and cultural developments of Negro and white peoples under conditions of a capitalist social order. The idea of race superiority and inferiority has its roots in and expresses the economic class relations of slave and slave owners, whether it be chattel or wage slavery.

Consequently, the color of one's skin is used to designate one's position in the realm of human society. In this instance the white skin is made to typify the peak of "capitalist culture", the zenith of "capitalist civilization", and the last word in science and intellectuality. On the other hand, the black skin is made to symbolize "low culture", "barbarity", "born rapists" and "incapability".

The white ruling class, therefore, by causing such false theories to spread and take root, is able to cover up its own real class position and its national oppression of the Negro masses. The difference between the whites and the Negroes, the color of skin and the texture of hair, a physical difference, is used by the white ruling class as an instrument for the more intense exloitation and oppression of the Negro masses.

The classification of peoples into color and race types is purely artificial, but is seized upon by the bourgeois ideologists as the decisive link to strengthen their myth of "white Nordic supremacy and Negro inferiority".

The Negro bourgeoisie dominated by the white capitalists and imperialists give support to these false slave theories. This creates still another condition for the continued special exploitation of the Negroes on the land and in industries. The segregated Negro areas in metropolitan cities (Harlem, Southside Chicago, etc.) give expression to the vicious imperialist ideology—keep the Negro "in his place." These districts are supported by the Negro politicians and reformist leaders, because of the privileged class position it gives them for betraying the liberation struggle of the Negro people, and at the same time help maintain the division of Negro and white workers. In this manner color ideologies play an important role in sharpening the oppression of the Negro masses and in keeping the Negro and white workers separated.

A social and political super-structure which consists of the denial of democratic rights to the Negro population, full equalities, and the right of self-determination, together with the whole system of

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Jim-Crowism and segregation is built upon the social and economic position of the Negroes.

To maintain that the Negro question is a "race question", or that the oppression of Negroes is based upon the "color line" is to blur over its social and economic essence; in other words, to capitulate to bourgeois race theories. Such a conception is equivalent to a deep underestimation of the revolutionary content of the struggles of the Negro masses for national liberation. Objectively, failure to see the powerful social and economic factors underlying the national liberation struggle of the Negro people, reduces the movement to a feeble liberal opposition against American imperialism.

The second error, the formulation that "the right of self-determination" is "*a part of* the general struggle for Negro rights," is an incorrect formulation. The last resolution on the Negro question in the United States, clearly states:

> "The struggle of the Communists for the equal rights of the Negroes applies to all Negroes, in the North as well as in the South. The struggle for this slogan embraces all or almost all of the important special interests of the Negroes in the North, but not in the South, where the main Communist slogan must be: *The right of self-determination of the Negroes in the Black Belt.* These two slogans, however, are most closely connected. The Negroes in the North are very much interested in winning the right of self-determination of the Negro population of the Black Belt and can thereby hope for strong support for the establishment of true equality of the Negroes in the North. In the South the Negroes are suffering no less but still more than in the North from the glaring lack of all equality; for the most part the struggle for their most urgent partial demands in the Black Belt is nothing more than the struggle for their equal rights, and only the fulfillment of their main slogan, the right of self-determination in the Black Belt, can assure them of true equality."

To place the right of self-determination as "*a part of*" the general struggle for Negro rights is to blur over the main struggle in the Black Belt. The *concrete* requirements of the liberation struggles of the Negroes are not simply the struggle for equal rights, but for the right of self-determination of the Negroes of the Black Belt, which cannot be realized without the fulfillment of the two *basic demands*, confiscation of the land and state unity of the Black Belt. In the North the main slogan is equal rights, but in the South it is the right of self-determination. Social equality in the South can only be realized by the Negro population through winning the right of self-determination.

The important special interests of the Negroes in the North, i.e., the right to have jobs that only whites are given; the right to live wherever they choose, (not in segregated areas), equal pay for equal work; breaking down discrimination and Jim-Crowism in

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practice, in fact the right to enjoy the present rights given the white workers, plus the rights which can be won by the white and Negro workers, are the democratic rights which must be granted. At the same time the guarantee for equal rights of the Negro in the North will be secured by the winning of the right of self-determination in the Black Belt. Therefore, the Negroes of the South can expect a strong ally in the Northern Negro industrial proletariat, who will give support to the struggles of the Negroes in the Black Belt for the right of self-determination.

In the South the above democratic rights are denied the Negroes. But in addition there is in the Black Belt a complete denial of every elementary right, *i.e.*, the right to vote; right to equal educational facilities; the right to hold governmental office; right to organize, free speech, in most reactionary parts of the Black Belt. All governmental, legislative and judicial authority is concentrated in the hands of the white minority, bourgeoisie and landlords. "*Therefore, the overthrow of this class rule* in the Black Belt is unconditionally necessary in the struggle for the Negroes' right to self-determination." (C. I. Resolution.)

The fulfillment of this demand means at the same time to overthrow the yoke of American imperialism.

To carelessly lump together these demands—"equal rights" and "right of self-determination"—is identical to the attitude of the socialists and white liberals who give lip-service to the slogan of equal rights for the Negroes.

Right to self-determination *raises the question of power* for the Negro population in the Black Belt. It means wresting the power from the white minority exploiters. This direct question of power is the guarantee to secure equal rights for the Negro population in the South. It is a *basic, fundamental* demand of the liberation struggle of the Negroes in the Black Belt. This slogan " . . . *once thoroughly understood by the Negro masses and adopted as their slogan . . . will lead them into the struggle for the overthrow of the power of the ruling bourgeoisie . . .*" (C. I. Resolution.) The slogan of the right of self-determination is therefore a slogan of national rebellion.

The third error, the right of the Negro majority in the Black Belt, "*to rule themselves* within their own state boundaries. . . " is a confused formulation. The C. I. resolution very clearly and decisively explains the incorrectness of such a formulation. "Every plan regarding the establishment of the Negro state with an exclusively Negro population in America (and of course, still more exporting it to Africa) is nothing but an unreal and reactionary caricature of the fulfillment of the right of self-determination of

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the Negroes, and every attempt to isolate and transport the Negroes would have the most damaging effect upon their interest; above all it would violate the right of the Negro farmers in the Black Belt not only to their present residences and their land, but also to the land owned by the white landlords and cultivated by Negro labor." (C. I. Resolution.) Again we quote the C. I. resolution, "It would not be right of self-determination only in cases which concerned *exclusively* the Negroes. . . . "

"To rule themselves" means that the Negro majority in the Black Belt should have the right to govern *only the Negroes,* in such areas where there are all-black populations, and not the white minority, which lives in the continuous stretch of territory where the majority of the population are Negroes, constituting the Black Belt. Furthermore the white minority, the present oppressors, who have all power in their hands, would not, according to Comrade Allen's incorrect formulation, be subjected to this rule. They would maintain their own small states which would constantly be a menace to the Negro republics.

The slavery system and national oppression of the Negroes in the South has its root in the large landed estates of the white exploiters. Without the expropriation of these landlords there can not be any taking over of power. Without an agrarian revolution there can be no true right of self-determination. To leave the large landed properties in possession of the white landlords would continue the present day slavery and robbery of millions of Negroes.

There is little difference in this wrong formulation and the non-revolutionary Garvey theory of "Africa for the Africans". This theory supports the imperialists in their attempt to separate the Negro masses from the white revolutionary workers. It weakens the struggle against the imperialist oppressors.

The theoretical defenders of white chauvinism would gladly accept this formula "*to rule themselves*", and give the Negroes a state for themselves, where they would have no governmental, judicial, and legislative authority over the small white population.

To accept the formulation "to rule *themselves* within their own state boundaries" would not only be a concession to reactionary Negro bourgeois nationalism (Garvey) but to white chauvinism as well.

The above mistakes in formulations dealing with the national question and the right to self-determination of the Negroes in the Black Belt distort the Marxian-Leninist line. They are inexact and inaccurate. They are confusing and hinder the hastening of real clarity on the program of the Communist Party, U. S. A., for the national liberation of the Negro population.

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On the International Character of the October Revolution

By J. STALIN

EDITORIAL NOTE: *We are reprinting an article by Comrade Stalin written in* 1927 *on the occasion of the Tenth Anniversary of the October Revolution. This article is reprinted as it appeared in the "Inprecorr" of* 1927. *We are also publishing a brief outline of this year's Fifteenth Anniversary of the Revolution.*

* * *

THE October Revolution is not only a revolution within "national limits." It is above all a revolution bearing an *international* stamp, a *world revolution*, for it means a fundamental change in the whole history of mankind, from the old capitalist world to the new Socialist world.

The October Revolution differs in *principle* from all revolutions of the past. The aim which it sets itself is not the replacement of one form of exploitation by another, of one group of exploiters by another, but the abolition of all exploitation of man by man, the annihilation of all and every group of exploiters, the setting up of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the setting up of the power of the revolutionary class among all subjected classes which have arisen up to now, and organization of a new, classless Socialist society.

Precisely for this reason the victory of the October Revolution means a fundamental change in the history of humanity.

That is the reason why the October Revolution is a revolution bearing an international character, a world revolution. Therein lies also the reason for the profound sympathy the subjugated classes of all peoples cherish for the October Revolution, in which they see the guarantee of their liberation.

A whole number of fundamental questions can be pointed out, upon the line of which the effect of the October Revolution upon the development of the revolutionary movement of the whole world proceeds:

1. The October Revolution is characterized in the first place by the fact *that it broke through the front of world imperialism, overthrew the imperialist bourgeoisie in one of the biggest capitalist countries, and placed power in the hands of the Socialist proletariat.*

The class of wage slaves, the class of the down-trodden, the class of the oppressed and exploited has for the first time in the history of humanity risen to be the ruling class, and by its example inspired the proletariat of all countries.

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That means that the October Revolution opened *a new epoch*, an *epoch of the proletarian revolutions in the imperialist countries*. It has deprived the landowners and the capitalists of the means and instruments of production and converted them into social property, and by this means opposes social property against bourgeois property. It has thereby exposed the lie of the capitalists regarding the inviolability, the sacredness and the permanency of bourgeois property.

It has wrested power from the bourgeoisie, deprived it of political rights, shattered the bourgeois state apparatus and handed over power to the Soviets, thereby opposing bourgeois parliamentarism, as the capitalist democracy, with the Socialist Soviet power, as the proletarian democracy. Lafargue was right when he said already in 1887, that on the day following the revolution "all former capitalists will lose the right to vote". The October Revolution thereby exposed the lie of the social democrats that a peaceful transition to Socialism by bourgeois parliamentarism is possible.

But the October Revolution has not stopped short at this. It could not stop short at this. After shattering the old bourgeois order, it proceeded to build up the new Socialist order. Ten years of the October Revolution are ten years of building up the Party, the trade unions, the Soviets, the co-operatives, the cultural organizations, transport and communications, industry and the Red Army.

The indubitable successes of the Socialism of the Soviet Union on the field of construction have palpably shown that the proletariat can successfully rule a country without the bourgeoisie and against the bourgeoisie; can successfully conduct the whole national economy without the bourgeoisie and against the bourgeoisie; and that it can successfully build up Socialism in spite of the capitalist environment. The old "theory" that the exploited cannot do without the exploiters, has now become the cardinal point of the political "philosophy" of the social democracy in general and of the social democratic policy of coalition with the bourgeoisie in particular. This "theory", which has assumed the character of a prejudice, constitutes today one of the most serious obstacles in the way of the revolutionary proletariat in the capitalist countries. One of the most important results of the October Revolution is the fact that it gave a deady blow to this fallacious "theory."

Such generally known facts as the steady growth of Communism in the capitalist countries, the increasing sympathy of the proletarians of all countries for the working class in the Soviet Union, and finally the flocking of workers' delegations to the land of the Soviets demonstrate beyond dispute that the seed scattered by the October Revolution is already beginning to bear fruit.

2. The October Revolution has shaken imperialism not only in

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the centres of its rule, in the "mother countries". *It has also delivered its blow against the outposts of imperialism, as well as against its border districts, and undermined the rule of imperialism in the colonial and dependent countries.*

The October Revolution, by overthrowing the landowners and capitalists, has broken the chain of national and colonial suppression and, without exception, liberated from this yoke all the subjugated peoples of this gigantic State. The proletariat cannot emancipate itself without emancipating the subjugated peoples. The October Revolution has accomplished these national and colonial revolutions in the Soviet Union not under the banner of national hostility and of collisions between the nationalities, but under the banner of mutual confidence and of fraternal rapprochment of the workers and peasants of the nationalities, not in the name of nationalism but in the name of internationalism.

Precisely for this reason the pariah peoples, the slave peoples have, for the first time in the history of humanity, risen to the level of peoples who are really free and really equal, and who have by their example infected the suppressed peoples of the whole world.

That means that the October Revolution has opened a new epoch, an epoch of colonial revolutions which will be carried out by the suppressed peoples of the world in alliance with and under the leadership of the proletariat.

One of the most important results of the October Revolution is the fact that it has shown by deeds that the emancipated non-European peoples who have been drawn into the process of Soviet development, are capable of producing real advanced culture and real advanced civilization which is in no way behind European culture and civilization. The October Revolution has shown by deeds the possibility and practicability of the proletarian international method of liberating the subjugated peoples as the only correct method; it has shown by deeds the possibility and utility of the brotherly alliance of the workers and peasants of the most varied peoples on the basis of free choice and internationalism.

The era of exploitation and subjugation of the colonial and dependent countries without revolt and resistance on their part is past.

There has commenced the *era of emancipatory revolutions in the colonial and dependent countries, the era of the awakening of the proletariat of these countries, the era of its hegemony in the revolution.*

3. The October Revolution, by shaking imperialism, has at the same time created in the first proletarian dictatorship a *powerful, open centre of the international revolutionary movement, which the latter had never formerly possessed and around which it can now*

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crystallize by organizing the revolutionary united front of the proletariat and of the suppressed peoples of all countries against imperialism.

That means above all that the October Revolution has dealt world capitalism a deadly wound from which it will never recover. Just for this reason capitalism will never again win back that "balance", that "stabilization" which it had before October.

That means that the October Revolution has also raised the fighting spirit of the suppressed peoples of the whole world to a certain height and compelled the ruling classes to reckon with them as a new and serious factor. If formerly there was no international open forum before which the hopes and aspirations of the suppressed classes could be demonstrated and formulated, there exists today such a forum in the first proletarian dictatorship. The destruction of this forum would for a long time darken the social and political life of the "advanced" countries with the cloud of unrestrained black reaction. Even the simple fact of the existence of the "Bolshevik State" curbs the black forces of reaction and facilitates the suppressed to fight for freedom.

This is the reason also for that fierce hatred which the exploiters of all countries cherish against the Bolsheviki. Just as at one time Paris was the place of refuge and school for the revolutionary representatives of the rising bourgeoisie, so today Moscow is the refuge and the school for the revolutionary representatives of the rising proletariat. Hatred against the Jacobins did not save feudalism from disaster. There cannot be the least doubt that hatred against the Bolsheviki will not save capitalism from its inevitable ruin.

The era of stability of capitalism is past, and there has gone with it the legend of the imperishableness of the bourgeois social order.

The era of the catastrophe of capitalism has dawned.

4. The October Revolution is not only a revolution in the sphere of economic, social and political relations, it is at the same time *a revolution of the mind, a revolution of the ideology of the working class.* The October Revolution was born and strengthened under the banner of Marxism, under the banner of the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat, under the banner of Leninism, which is the Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and of the proletarian revolution. It means, therefore, the *victory of Marxism over reformism, the victory of Leninism over social democracy.*

Formerly, before the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the social democrats were still able to parade under the banner of Marxism, without openly denying the dictatorship of the proletariat, without however doing the least thing to bring this idea

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nearer to realization. For such an attitude on the part of social democracy did not mean any threat to capitalism.

Today, after the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, after everybody has seen with his own eyes whither Marxism leads and what its victory may mean, the social democracy can no longer flirt with the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat without creating a certain danger to capitalism. After it had long broken with the spirit of Marxism, it saw itself compelled to break also with the banner of Marxism and has openly and indisputably proceeded against the offspring of Marxism, against the October Revolution, against the first dictatorship of the proletariat in the world.

Between social democracy and Marxism there lies today an abyss. From now on the only bearer and stronghold of Marxism is Leninism, Communism.

The October Revolution has separated social democracy from Marxism and driven it into the camp of the immediate defenders of capitalism against the first proletarian dictatorship in the world. When the social democratic leaders abuse the "Soviet regime" and laud parliamentary "democracy," they thereby wish to say that they are fighting and will fight for the re-establishment of capitalist conditions in the Soviet Union, for the maintenance of capitalist slavery in the "civilized" States. Present day social democracy is an ideological support of capitalism. Lenin was indisputably right when he said that the present social democratic politicians "will, in the civil war of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, inevitably side with the Versaillers against the Communards."

One cannot put an end to capitalism without putting an end to social democracy within the labor movement. *Consequently, the era of the depth of capitalism is at the same time the era of the death of social democracy in the labor movement.*

The era of the rule of the Second International and of social democracy in the labor movement is at an end.

There has commenced the era of the rule of Leninism and the rule of the Third International.

ON THE CAMPAIGN OF THE FIFTEENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

UNDER the present world conditions, this campaign must take place chiefly under the slogan of the struggle against imperialist war now actually going on and against preparations for intervention and in defense of the U. S. S. R. which has entered the period of Socialism and is commencing in the second Five-Year Plan to construct classless Socialist society.

The main task of the campaign is for the proletariat, the toilers

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and oppressed of all countries, to *utilize the lessons of the October Revolution*, the heroic fifteen years of struggle of the proletariat of the U.S.S.R. under the leadership of its Leninist Party.

The campaign for the Fifteenth Anniversary must fuse with the popularization of the decisions of the Seventeenth Party Conference and must be carried on above all as a *mass* campaign, mobilizing the millions of workers and unemployed, peasants and city poor, around the Communist Party, calling all the toilers and the oppressed to march, headed by the proletariat, along the path of Lenin, the path of October, the path of the *revolutionary way out of bitter crisis and war*, as the only real path for the millions of victims of capitalism. The background for the campaign must consist of *contrasting two worlds, showing the results of two dictatatorships, the growing contradictions between them, the units of the tasks of the proletariat in the U. S. S. R. and the proletariat in other countries*, utilizing the experience of the last war, the lessons of the February and October Revolutions to convert a new war into *a new historic stage of the world proletarian revolution, into a victory for the dictatorship of the proletariat.*

The fifteen years of struggle of the proletariat of the U. S. S. R. and the proletariat of capitalist countries was a practical test through the class struggle of the teachings of Marx and Lenin and the theories of the leaders of the Second International. The theory of the opportunists of all countries on Bolshevism and the October Revolution as the fruit of "peculiar Russian conditions" has been completely upset by the development of the Communist movement throughout the world. The same applies to the theory of the Trotskyists on the impossibility of constructing Socialism in a single country, which has been utterly confounded by the victorious construction of Socialism. Under the blows of the crisis, the theory of Hilferding, Kautsky and Otto Bauer on "the new era of capitalism," "organized capitalism" has fallen to pieces.

1. The October Revolution as a tremendous experiment in converting imperialist war into civil war, as the experience of a revolutionary way out of war.

2. The period from February to October as the experience of the revolutionary tactics of the Bolshevik Party in the struggle for the masses (for the overwhelming majority of the working class and for strengthening the alliance with the basic masses of the peasants under the leadership of the working class), against petty-bourgeois parties, for their complete isolation as the prerequisite for a successful struggle for power.

3. The role of the Leninist Party in organizing and carrying through the armed revolt and the seizure of power, and later in

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the guidance of civil war and development of Socialist construction.

4. The October Revolution as the first stage of the world proletarian revolution. Comparison of the Bolshevik leadership and its results, with the results of the leadership of the German revolution by the social fascists (Nov. 7, 1917, and Nov. 9, 1918).

5. The Soviet Government, "the new type" of government, as a government of the proletarian dictatorship and the most consistent form of proletarian democracy. (A contrast between Soviet democracy and the so-called bourgeois "democracy" as a screen for bourgeois dictatorship and fascism.)

6. The role of the parties of the Second International in the struggle against the October Revolution, the proletarian dictatorship and Socialist construction (not only the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionaries, but also the Socialists of all countries).

7. The October Revolution as the starting point for the real liberation of many nations previously oppressed by tsarism (the Leninist national policy and the liberation of national minorities and colonial peoples).

8. What the October Revolution gave to the peasants, to women, to youth.

9. The main stages of Soviet economy; war communism, the restoration period and the reconstruction period. Their international significance as experience for a revolutionary way out of the economic crisis, poverty and unemployment, and experience in the Socialist offensive.

10. The results of the first Five-Year Plan. Preparations for the second Five-Year Plan as a plan for the construction of classless Socialist society.

11. The role of the international proletariat in the struggle for the strengthening of the Soviet Union, for its defense, for Socialist construction.

12. The influence of the October Revolution on the world revolutionary movement (Germany, Poland, Hungary, China, India, Spain).

13. Victorious Socialist construction as an indication and a factor for deepening the general crisis of capitalism.

14. The role of the Soviet Union as a factor for *peace*.

15. The role of Lenin and Stalin in the proletarian revolution.

16. The Soviet system and the "Third Empire" (the slogan of German fascism).

The chief tasks of the campaign in capitalist countries are to *concretize the lessons of the October Revolution and the experience of the C. P. S. U. for each country and for each Party at its present stage of struggle.*

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The Fourth Winter of Unemployment is Upon Us

A REVIEW OF THE AMERICAN ECONOMIC CRISIS AS OF SEPTEMBER, 1932

By JOHN IRVING

WHAT is likely to go down in business cycle annals as the last spasm of the Coolidge-Mellon-Hoover prosperity boom has gone through its last convulsions and is flattening out. In a matter of a week or so following Labor Day, stock averages lost 40 per cent of their gains made during the previous two-months' rise, raw cotton lost more than one-half of its price rise and the price of wheat returned nearly to the levels from which it had advanced two months earlier. The cause assigned for this "reaction" by the market economists was the insignificant increase of less than 4/100 of 1 per cent in the federal cotton crop estimate for this year!

The last spasm of this last Coolidge-Mellon-Hoover boom, or to be more exact, boomlet, occurred on September 21, the day after the standpat Hoover Reublican forces defeated the "radical" La Follette machine in the Wisconsin gubernatorial primaries. On that one day stocks recovered nearly one-half of the losses of the preceding two weeks, wheat rose 2½ cents a bushel and cotton $3 a bale. "The recovery of all the markets was one of the most sweeping of the year," according to the New York *Times* financial editor. So weak, so exhausted, so "jumpy" is the body-economic of America today that the slightest change of outlook either way sends it either into the most ecstatic exultation or into blackest despair.

For the American body-economic is very sick indeed, has been growing worse for over three years, without as yet any symptoms of basic recovery in the near or distant future in sight. Labor Day had been set by the bourgeois economic prognosticators as the ultimate dividing line in the current depression. "After Labor Day", all this optimism displayed in the stock and commodity markets during July and August would be speedily justified, went their comment. But Labor Day has come and gone. The more than seasonal upsurge in the textile and clothing industry, which came in August, as was to be expected, has failed to lift American industry from its record lows into a new era of prosperity, and the country is slipping back into stagnation and gloom which we have anticipated in our earlier reviews.

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Partly as a result of the speculative rise in the price of raw cotton, partly because of the extremely depressed levels of earlier manufacturing activities, the textile and clothing industries indulged in a sensational rise during the month of August and during the first half of September. The month of August saw the most intensive activity in the cotton goods market in years. *Sales* of carded cotton cloth amounting to 510,531,000 yards, was nearly three times production and more than three times as large as sales of the same month last year. Similar, albeit a less vigorous, experience was recorded for silk, wool and rayon.

It was because of this spectacular rise in the monthly production of cotton goods, amounting to 17.9 points in the *Annalist* index that the composite business activity index of the *Annalist* for August showed a rise of 2.3 from July. This represented the first substantial rise in this index to have taken place since April, 1931. The August index thus stands at 54.0 (preliminary) as compared, be it noted, with 73.5 as of August, 1931.

But one swallow does not make a summer. Other basic industries of the country during the same month experienced a further worsening. Daily steel ingot production in August, at 30,830 tons, was the lowest on record, and compares with a daily output of 31,701 tons in July and of 66,133 tons in August, 1931. The rate of operation for the month was also the lowest on record, standing at 14.26 per cent of capacity, as compared with 14.66 per cent of capacity for July and 31.08 per cent for August, 1931.

Similarly, the production of pig iron reached a new low record, as regards the monthly total as well as the daily average. The month closed with four fewer furnaces in blast than at the beginning. The forty-two furnaces operating at the end of the month represented exactly one-fifth of the number operating on the same date in 1929, and but one in every seven available for the industry.

A rise from the record low of July of 13.3 per cent in sales of automobiles to *consumers* by General Motors, represents largely the compensation for a corresponding decrease in sales by that corporation's chief rival in the lower-priced field. It was, furthermore, offset by a decrease in *prospective* sales by the decline of 23 per cent in the corporation's August sales to *dealers*.

There was a further decrease in the daily average of building contracts in August as compared with July. For the eight months ending with August the value of building permits (Bradstreet's) was 67.7 per cent below the value reported for the corresponding period of a year ago. But from August to August the decrease amounted to 71.4 per cent, recording an increasing decline in value of building permits as the year advances.

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Similarly, retail trade experienced a relatively greater decline in August than for the preceding eight months. In the longer period department store sales were 24 per cent lower than a year ago; for the month of August, the decline amounted to 26 per cent. The index now stands at 66 compared with 67 in July in June, the 1923-25 average being taken as 100.

And this comparison applies also to some of the largest chain stores. For the eight months the J. C. Penny Co. showed a sales decline of 11.52 per cent; for August, a decline of 18.88 per cent. The F. W. Woolworth showed a decline of 15.9 per cent for August, as against one of 10.6 per cent for the eight months.

Again, railroad net earnings in July, the latest date for which figures are available, were 79 per cent below the year before. The rate of decline from 1931 was thus the lowest for any month this year. For the first seven months of this year *seventy* of the 167 Class I railroads operated at a loss, the total amounting to four times the losses reached for the same period the year before.

Finally, the rate of business mortality shows no abatement, and with the August figures on hand it is already evident that commercial failures this year will pile up a new high record. And this does not by any means exclude bank failures. These, it is true, may not equal the totals of last year, having in mind the epidemic of bank failures during the last four months of that year. But so far this year, for the first eight months, bank failures (including a few other financial institutions) have amounted to 918 as compared with 681 for the first eight months of a year ago.

What, then, are the business and consequently employment prospects of the present calendar year, and, for that matter, for the coming winter? "Now that it is clear that the predictions which were made under the intoxication of the stock market advance in July and August have been only partially verified, the financial community appears to have resigned itself to the prospect of a slow recovery in trade and industry," runs a New York *Times* comment, September 26. *Unfilled orders* on hand today and *new orders* currently placed (latest figures published in Bradstreet's) are, with but the isolated exception of textiles, from 25 per cent to 80 per cent lower than a year ago.

And 1931 was by no means a year of prosperity for American industries. Indeed, 1931 has already gone down in the economic history of the country as the worst depression year ever recorded up to that time. At best, then, in view of such figures, it would take months of "business recovery" to reverse the present business trend and catch up with, what?—with 1931!

But at the same time we are about to enter the winter with from

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three to four million unemployed workers more than a year ago, in all with about 15,000,000 *fully* unemployed and with about 7,500,000 "staggered" (why not "staggering"?) workers. The increase of *one-half of one per cent*, barely equal to the normal seasonal change, in the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics index of *employment* for the country as a whole recorded for the month of August, over July, was due essentially to the spectacular rise of 12.7 per cent in the employment in the textile industry, already explained. But *earnings—payrolls* in the country—*actually declined*, fully 1 per cent from July!

"In the light of the best interpretation that can be put upon the improvement in business lately shown and accepting the hopeful forecasts for further gains as the season progresses," the New York *Times* of September 26 admits, "it is still doubtful whether it can be said that a change in the state of business sufficient to have an important influence upon employment is at hand. The problem of reabsorbing into the industrial system the millions of jobless thrown out of work during the past three years must of necessity, however, be a long and weary process." "A long and weary process"! And Mr. Hoover has already turned over to his committees of "business and industrial leaders" the task of wiping up "what *remains* of the depression", according to the New York *Times*. (Italics mine, J. I.) That is to be achieved largely by the method of "spreading jobs", or "job-sharing" as it is more appealingly put to the workers. The remaining shreds of payrolls are to be divided among a larger number of workers, thus setting up new low standards of living for the American worker. There is to be a further *increase* in the *employment* index of the country *with a simultaneous decrease in the payrolls* index, already recorded in August.

True, Mr. Hoover admits, there exists a certain amount of distress among "our people". For that he has convoked, "for the third time representatives of the *great voluntary* relief agencies of this country . . . to consider with earnestness and sympathy what measures may be undertaken for relief of those" suffering from this distress. "So long as the world stands there will be human misfortune and human suffering from causes *men cannot control*," Mr. Hoover admonished his listeners. "There will be nation-wide calamities the result of which may be that any one of us may be the giver and any one the receiver. [!] Yours are the great agencies which seek the one to serve the other." (Italics mine, J. I.)

The capitalist giant of America lies prostrate, perhaps mortally wounded. As he attempts to raise himself in his blind fury he brings his crushing weight in ever greater pressure upon the masses underneath him. It is the capitalist way out of the depression.

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STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, OF THE COMMUNIST, published monthly at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1932.

State of New York
County of New York

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared W. E. Douglas, who, having been duly sworn, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of The Communist, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher, Communist Party of U. S. A., 50 East 13th Street, New York, N. Y.

Editors, Earl Browder, William Z. Foster and William W. Weinstone, 50 East 13th Street, New York, N. Y.

Managing Editor, None.

Business Manager, W. E. Douglas, 50 East 13th Street, New York, N. Y.

2. That the owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual member, must be given.)

Communist Party of U. S. A., 50 East 13th Street, New York, N. Y.

Earl Browder, William Z. Foster and William W. Weinstone, Secretariat, 50 East 13th Street, New York, N. Y.

A non-profit organization—political.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.)

None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of its owners, stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases when the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

5. That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the six months preceding the date shown above is (This information is required from daily publications only.)

W. E. DOUGLAS, Business Manager.

(Seal)

Sworn and subscribed before me this 1st day of October, 1932.

MAX KITZES, Notary Public.
(My Commission expires March 30, 1934.)

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How the American Communist Party Carries Out Self Criticism and Controls Fulfillment of Decisions

THE PRACTICE OF BOLSHEVIK SELF-CRITICISM

By S. TSIRUL

The test of Bolshevik self-criticism is self-correction. This pamphlet shows that while the Party knows of and speaks of its mistakes and shortcomings, it does not as yet make any serious attempts to correct them. As the concluding paragraph of the pamphlet states:

> "We can issue only one warning: Unless the Party takes up with as much determination control of the execution of its own decisions with which it has engaged in self-criticism, it will not move one step forward in the direction of an improvement of its work, for as Comrade Browder correctly noted, 'a resolution remaining on paper is an obstacle to the development of the work.' And there are still far too many such paper resolutions in the Party."

The Central Committee considers this article, which first appeared in *Communist International*, Vol. IX, No. 15, of such vital importance, that it is now reprinted in pamphlet form at the low price of 2 cents a copy. The contents of this pamphlet must be carefully studied by the entire Party membership, not merely in connection with the work of the Party as a whole, but on the basis of the shortcomings in the work of the unit and section to which we belong.

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